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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2033



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## BRIEFS

SLOVAK PIONEER ORGANIZATION--The 12-13 June All-Slovak Conference of Pioneer Organizations' Worker in Bratislava elected a 45-member Slovak Central Council of the Socialist Youth Union's Pioneer Organization and reelected Anna Kursova chairwoman of the council. The pioneer organization in Slovakia associates almost 590,000 Pioneers and Sparks, which represents almost 88 percent of all children in the respective age groups. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Jun 82 pp 1, 2]

SLOVAK YOUTH ORGANIZATION RESHUFFLE--A session of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SCCSYU] has released Michael Zozulak from the post of the chairman and Andrej Gres from the post of deputy chairman of the SCCSYU in connection with their being entrusted with other tasks. Both were awarded the Socialist Youth Union's honorary membership. The SCCSYU has elected Jozef Durica SCCSYU chairman, Dusan Longauer deputy chairman, and Marian Parkanyi and Mikulas Patlovic were elected SCCSYU secretaries. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jun 82 p 2 AU]

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' SESSION--A special expanded session of the secretariat of the International Students' Union, chaired by Miroslav Stephan, the union's chairman, was held on 16 June in Prague. It was attended by representatives of student and youth organizations from 23 countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe; and by a PLO delegation, headed by 'Atif abu Bakr, director of the PLO office in the CSSR, and a delegation of Lebanese patriotic forces under Mustafa (Rashid). The session condemned Israel's Zionist aggression and genocide with U.S. approval in Lebanon, adopted an open letter to the students of Palestine and Lebanon, and adopted a declaration on joint actions, including the initiative on immediately convening an international solidarity assembly against Israel's Zionist aggression and on dispatching an international brigade of medical doctors to Lebanon. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 June 82 p 6 AU]

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SED POLITBURO REPORT, KESSLER ADDRESS TO PLENUM PUBLISHED

Verner Delivers Politburo Report

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jun 82 pp 3-7

[Excerpts from Politburo Report to Fourth SED Central Committee Plenum, presented by Paul Verner, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, in East Berlin, 23 Jun 82]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The Politburo has performed purposeful and insistent work since the third Central Committee session to successfully accomplish the tasks, explained by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of our party Central Committee, at that session as well as at the conference with the first Kreis secretaries, in implementing the decisions of our 10th party congress in all spheres of social life.

The aim is to further strengthen the GDR all-round in accordance with the increasing demands of the eighties under the conditions of the escalated international class struggle. This is and remains our most important contribution to further strengthening socialism and to the struggle to safeguard peace, which we resolutely wage alongside the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community.

To Foil the Course of Confrontation and Stepped-up Armament

It is important to thwart the adventurous course of confrontation and stepped-up armament pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, above all the United States, and to prevent a dangerous new world conflagration.

In the past few months, our party's international policy has also been determined upon guaranteeing the most favorable external conditions for the construction of socialism, and actively contributing to the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community. This is all the more urgent because the international situation--as a result of the policy of the most aggressive NATO circles, in particular the United States--has further deteriorated in a manner which gives rise to concern. The recent meeting of the NATO Council in Bonn and the meeting of the heads of state and government of the leading imperialist states in Versailles has confirmed this. The United States and some other NATO states are trying to step up political, economic and military pressure on the socialist community of states.

Against the declared will of millions of people in the NATO states--as expressed by the powerful demonstrations in Bonn, West Berlin, New York and other cities--they adhere to realizing the long-term arms program and the Brussels missile decision. The European NATO states have yielded to U.S. insistence to declare themselves ready for military action outside the NATO sphere, "after consultations and with agreement of interests." Therefore, instead of contributing toward lessening tensions in the world and safeguarding peace, the meetings of Versailles and Bonn confirmed the course of the most aggressive imperialist circles, aimed at escalating international tension, as the political guideline for the NATO states. As always in history, the militant circles of imperialism are seeking a way out of the deepening internal and external crisis of the capitalist system by increasing aggressiveness and adventurism. They are under the illusion of being able to halt and reverse the course of historical development with a policy of confrontation and an arms drive.

This is what determines both the domestic and foreign policy of the United States. Gigantic sums are being sacrificed to this end. The United States is spending some \$222 billion this fiscal year for an acceleration of the arms race. In the 1985-86 fiscal year, the United States will spend more than \$367 billion, which is more than \$1 billion per day. This policy of the U.S. administration is being forced not only on its own people, but will also have to be borne by the peoples of the other NATO states.

Against the resistance of the people and the reservations of some governments of West European countries, the plan remains to station American nuclear-armed medium-range missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe in 1983. This is designed to create on our continent a nuclear first-strike capability against the Warsaw Pact states. The existing military-strategic balance of power is to be shifted in favor of NATO, in particular in favor of the United States. The United States is expanding the network of its military bases abroad. Maneuvers and demonstrations of military might in the NATO sphere and in other parts of the world, such as the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, the Horn of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, are increasing.

The Reagan administration's objective--to gain military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community--is and remains an absolute miscalculation. The Soviet people and the other peoples of the socialist community will make the necessary efforts and sacrifices to prevent these adventurous plans and preserve the military balance. That is in the interests of socialism and of peacelovers throughout the world.

In the period under review it became sharply apparent that even in the United States broad circles of the population feel uneasy over Reagan's adventurous policy. The movement for the freezing of nuclear arms has become an influential factor in U.S. political life. Public displeasure is growing over the most massive reduction in social services for decades and the lethal consequences of the aggressive military and foreign policy. Leading representatives of the

bourgeoisie oppose Reagan's reckless policy. A number of congressmen, governors, mayors and former highranking government officials, including four former secretaries of state and two former secretaries of defense, have called on Reagan to reduce his arms budget, freeze armaments and ratify Salt II.

#### Peace Movement Becomes More Powerful Day by Day

A peace movement embracing hundreds of millions in all countries and continents is waging the struggle against the confrontation policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles and for peace, detente, arms limitation and disarmament. This movement unites different political and social forces. They are all inspired by this idea: Europe must not become Euroshima. The world must not be plunged into a nuclear inferno.

Many capitalist countries have seen a powerful upsurge of the mass movement for peace and disarmament. The scale of this movement is unique in the history of the struggle for peace. Thanks to its enormous political and social breadth, it has achieved a new and higher quality. This has become apparent in the powerful peace demonstrations in Western Europe, Japan and the United States since the autumn of 1981.

The farsighted, constructive peace policy of the USSR, GDR and the other states of our socialist community has proved of vital importance for the changing mood of the peoples. The peace program set out at the 26th CPSU congress and the manifold peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist states are having a long-term impact. Increasingly they pierce the smokescreen of the imperialist lie about a threat and the imperialist propaganda for arms modernization.

We see that the struggle of the peacelovers has forced the Reagan administration to accept the USSR proposals for the opening of negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms. Still greater pressure by the people is needed in order to compel the U.S. ruling circles to conduct the negotiations beginning on 29 June in a realistic, constructive and substantive fashion, and not to misuse them as an alibi to gain time for an arms buildup.

#### We Fully and Entirely Support the New Soviet Initiatives

The course of events in recent months bears out our historical experience that the steady consolidation of our fraternal alliance with the party and land of Lenin, the strength of the socialist community and its constructive policy, and its coordinated action in the world arena are and remain the guarantee for strengthening socialism and safeguarding a lasting peace.

As Comrade Erich Honecker said at his conference with the first Kreis secretaries: "The growing strength of real socialism, the development of its virtues and values, gives us great satisfaction. We can rightly claim that in the 65th year since the great October socialist revolution and the 33d year of the GDR, in spite of all resistance and difficulties, socialism, since its inception as the power of the workers and peasants in 1917, has ceaselessly continued its triumphal march.

Our party and people fully support the new initiatives put forward by Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR supreme Soviet presidium, at the 17th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions and the 19th Congress of the Lenin Komsomol. They are indeed proposals which give further concrete shape to the peace program of the 26th Party Congress, and at the same time take account of and further all positive proposals made in various countries on arms limitation and disarmament.

It was emphasized with due seriousness how acute and urgent is an agreement between the USSR and the United States on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union is ready to agree to a reciprocal moratorium on the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Desirous of achieving an equitable agreement on a sharp reduction of the nuclear weapons of both sides in Europe, the USSR decided to set a good example, to renounce unilaterally the further deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR and unilaterally to reduce these weapons systems selectively west of the Urals. The reduction of a significant number of these missiles has started.

In his important message to the second special session of the United Nations, Comrade Brezhnev announced the solemn pledge by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This pledge came into force with its announcement at the UN General Assembly. This Soviet decision is based on the assumption that an equally clear and unmistakable pledge of all other nuclear states is practically tantamount to a ban on the use of nuclear weapons.

As Comrade Gromyko told the UN special mission, the Soviet Union rightly opposes American ideas aimed at a unilateral reduction by the USSR. If these U.S. proposals were followed, the United States could not only maintain its strategic potential to a very large extent, but could also continue unhindered its nuclear arms buildup, for example with intercontinental MX missiles, strategic B1 bombers and Trident missiles launchers. These are weapons systems aimed at destabilizing the approximate military balance and turning it into U.S. superiority.

Noted U.S. politicians who are thinking in realistic terms have formed the same view. Former Secretary of State Muskie said that Reagan's proposals undermine the process of disarmament. We attach great importance to the Soviet-American summit meeting suggested by the USSR. It should center on problems of reducing armaments and disarmament. In the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe and the UN disarmament committee in Geneva, too, the socialist community states proceed from the principle of equality and equal security. The socialist states taking part in these negotiations, including the GDR, have taken repeated initiatives in order to achieve concrete results. Apart from verbal protestations, the Western side has so far made no constructive contribution to the success of these negotiations.

The close cooperation of the states of the socialist community for securing peace, and their interest in a drastic improvement of the international situation, was also reflected at the session of the foreign ministers' committee

of the signatories of the Warsaw Pact. The session was devoted to the concrete realization of the peace and disarmament proposals of the socialist states. At the session the steadfast readiness of the socialist countries to agree to the limitation and reduction of all kinds of weapons on a just and mutual basis was reaffirmed.

#### GDR--Active Partner in the Struggle for Disarmament

This also governs the attitude of the GDR at the second special session of the United Nations on disarmament. At the beginning of May the Politburo passed the directive for the appearance of the GDR Government delegation at this session. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR council of state, passed a message to Ismat Kittani, president of the second special session of the United Nations. This message reaffirmed that the GDR is a reliable and active partner in the struggle for lasting peace and disarmament. The GDR thinks it is urgently necessary to decide on and implement measures for ending the nuclear arms race.

Dear comrades, in line with the peace strategy of the 10th SED Congress, the GDR has also campaigned in the report period for the comprehensive use of existing possibilities and the opening of new possibilities for developing relations with capitalist countries in the political, economic, scientific-technological and commercial spheres, as well as in the field of culture and in other areas on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The main issue--the preservation and securing of peace--determined our foreign policy toward the FRG in the period of the report. According to the resolutions of our 10th Party Congress, we have always acted in the awareness that the development of normal relations between the GDR and the FRG has considerable significance not only for the two German states, but for the overall situation in Europe, and for an improvement of the political climate.

#### Lake Werbellin Has Shown: Dialogue Is Useful

An outstanding event in this sense was the meeting of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR council of state, with FRG federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt at Lake Werbellin in December 1981. At this meeting, which attracted worldwide notice, a broad range of problems was discussed.

The Politburo received a report on Comrade Honecker's meeting with federal Chancellor Schmidt and described it as a positive and valuable contribution to the process of detente in Europe. The report confirmed that the dialogue between the leaders of states with different social systems is useful and beneficial for peace, particularly when the international situation is so complex. It became clear that even with different, indeed opposite, positions and interests on fundamental issues, it is possible to agree on the safeguarding of peace if one proceeds with the required sense of responsibility. Thus the Lake Werbellin meeting was eloquent testimony to the vitality of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

In our view the signals given by the meeting of the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and the FRG chancellor remain relevant. In recent months we have acted entirely in their spirit. Together with the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states, new initiatives have been taken to contain the arms race and avert the danger of nuclear war. Likewise the GDR has taken steps to improve bilateral relations with the FRG. The meetings of the general secretary of our party's Central Committee with leading FRG political and business personages have played an important part. In a conversation with Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the FRG Association of Chambers of Industry and commerce, during the Leipzig spring fair, it was agreed that the further expansion of GDR-FRG economic relations is advantageous to both sides and contributes to the development of overall relations.

The government of the federal republic also stated that it attaches great importance to the meeting at Lake Werbellin and that it regards the safeguarding of peace as the foremost task of our time.

Both sides affirmed their desire for cooperation, particularly in those questions recorded in the joint communique. We would express our expectation that the FRG Government will adhere to this and that agreement on important questions will not be sacrificed under the pressure of forces who can make nothing of detente and even wish to expunge the term "detente" from international life.

In this connection one must say that the picture is very contradictory. The constant affirmation of the Brussels NATO decision on missiles, the curt rejection of the USSR proposals for a missiles moratorium, the express insistence on the NATO concept of a nuclear first strike and the recent Bonn-Washington agreement on the proposed deployment of six extra U.S. divisions in the federal republic at a time when one should be concerned with force reductions--all this and much else are certainly no contribution to detente.

The point at issue still is that the FRG should respect GDR citizenship. In regard to the frontier in the Elbe sector the time has come to sign the draft protocol of the joint frontier commission of 1978. The so-called "central registration office in Salzgitter," of which every perceptive person says that its existence cannot be justified, is still an obstacle to the settlement of questions in which the FRG side shows interest.

There can be no doubt that the process of normalizing GDR-FRG relations can be carried on only under conditions of peace and on the basis of the treaties which have been concluded with strict regard for the sovereignty and equality of the two German states. All the more is one bound to ask what is meant when Christian democratic union and Christian social union politicians recently said that the treaties could be accepted only on the basis of a "correct interpretation and meaning." He who intends by such nebulous formulations to question the letter and spirit of the treaties should consider in good time what he is shaking and putting in peril.

Our attitude toward GDR-PRC relations is governed by fundamental positions and not by tactical short term considerations. We are guided by the interests of peace and peaceful cooperation of states of different social systems in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. That has been the case in the past and will remain so. There is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence. This was also the tenor of the talks and negotiations Comrade Guenter Mittag had in December 1981 with members of the French Government and leading representatives of the French economy.

Dear comrades, in the period under review the Politburo more than once commented on the situation in the Polish people's republic. Our opinion is known. We could not overlook the fact that, with its transition to the policy of confrontation, imperialism is stepping up its permanent effort to obstruct the development of socialism by political, ideological and economic subversion and to pry individual countries from the socialist community.

With the measures of 13 December 1981, which are entirely an internal affair of people's Poland, the military council for national salvation of Poland has thwarted the plan of the imperialists and counterrevolutionary forces to liquidate socialism in the Polish people's republic. During the visit to Berlin of the party and government delegation led by Comrade Wojciech Jastruzewski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed the GDR's full support for the measures to safeguard the people's power, overcome the political and economic crises and ensure the continued socialist development of people's Poland. The Polish people's republic will always have a reliable friend and loyal ally in the GDR. This was clearly expressed by our party in the Politburo statement on the visit to the GDR of the party and government delegation of the Polish people's republic.

#### Socialist Countries Deepen Cooperation

The traditionally friendly relations between the SED and the CPCZ, between the GDR and the CSSR, were reaffirmed and further developed at the meeting between Comrades Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak. Both sides expressed the determination of our fraternal parties and states to comprehensively contribute to deepening the cooperation among the socialist countries, to strengthening their collaboration within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The official friendship visit of the GDR part-government delegation under the leadership of Comrade Erich Honecker to the Hungarian people's republic brought to new heights relations between the two peoples.

It made a weighty contribution to further deepening the fraternal cooperation between our parties and states in all fields. At the same time it served the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community.

In view of the confrontation and stepped-up arms course of the United States and other NATO states, Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Janos Kadar expressed the resolve of the GDR and of Hungary consistently to promote an improvement of the international situation. They displayed the full support of both fraternal states for the Soviet peace initiatives recently submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The Politburo is confining to attach great importance to the further development of relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the people's Democratic Republic of Laos, and the people's Republic of Kampuchea.

We support the proposals of these fraternal states, which are exposed to continuous pressure and attacks by imperialism and other reactionary forces, for consolidating peace and security in that area. The participation of the delegation, led by Comrade Konrad Naumann, in the party congress of the Vietnam Communist Party was marked by solidarity and close cooperation. The party congress has shown that the Vietnamese communists are resolved to continue creating the foundations of socialism in the SRV, doing so under complicated conditions, based on the firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community and through a creative application of Marxism-Leninism.

The third congress of the Lao revolutionary people's party, in which a delegation of the SED Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Inge Lange participated, confirmed the general policy line aimed at deepening socialist development in Laos. The LPRP is placing at the center of its activities the strengthening of the party's fighting strength and mobilizing the multinational Lao people for the accomplishment of future tasks.

#### Unshakable at the Side of the Arab Peoples

The past months have clearly shown how much the imperialist threat to peace, the arms race and course of confrontation are aimed directly against the basic interests of the liberated states and against peoples still struggling for their independence. This policy entails great dangers for the peaceful construction in many countries with which we have friendly relations. Today, more clearly than ever, everyone can see the close relationship of the peace struggle and anti-imperialist solidarity.

Many countries are the scene of acts of imperialist aggression and are dangerous seats of conflict, such as those in the Middle East, southern Africa and central America.

Once again Israel has begun a large-scale and massive aggression against its neighbor Lebanon. This barbaric Israeli aggression, which is aimed against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, is admittedly intended to choke the Palestinian resistance movement in blood, to rob the Palestinians of their legitimate rights and to annihilate them.

No one can deny that this renewed Israeli aggression is taking place with the consent and support of Washington. It is Washington which arms Israel and which at the beginning of this year signed a strategic military agreement with it. This encouraged Israel to undertake criminal anti-Arab actions. The U.S. veto in the UN Security Council thwarted the resolution on the end to the Israeli aggression.

In the statement of our party's Central Committee, of the State Council and of the GDR Council of Ministers we have strongly condemned this renewed aggression by Israel and have said that the defensive measures undertaken by the Lebanese and Palestinian side have the full solidarity of the GDR.

Israel's renewed aggression against Lebanon--as do all tensions and conflicts in the Middle East created by imperialism--clearly show to what extent guaranteeing the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine is an indispensable precondition to peace and security in the Middle East. Part of this precondition is the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Israel must give back to the Arabs the land that it has occupied. The Palestinian people have a legitimate right to their own state. The GDR is unshakable at the side of the Arab peoples who are fighting for their inalienable rights and interests.

This attitude dominated the visit of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO executive committee and supreme commander of the forces of the Palestinian revolution, who was in Berlin this past March at the invitation of Comrade Erich Honecker. This meeting was fresh proof of the close ties of solidarity which link the socialist German worker-peasant state with the just struggle of the peoples for their legitimate rights, for peace and social progress.

#### International Relations Further Expanded

Also in the past months the international activity of our party was directed toward developing the relations of the GDR with the liberated peoples and states of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In the period under review these relations have grown in breadth and intensity. The treaties of friendship and cooperation concluded by Comrade Erich Honecker during his trips have proved to be a reliable basis for close friendly comradeship and dynamic development.

The many contacts and varied cooperation on national and social levels are growing constantly. The travels of the delegations of the people's chamber, of the foreign minister and of other representatives of the GDR Government to the states in Africa, Asia and Latin America were made in the service of better mutual understanding and cooperation for peace, democracy and progress, against colonialism, neocolonialism and racism.

The visit of a party and state delegation headed by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the people's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and chairman of the revolutionary council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] to the GDR and the DRA will develop and deepen their relations in all fields according to plan on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries signed by Comrades Erich Honecker and Babrak Karmal. A great danger for the peaceful construction of the country, and also for security in the region, emanates from the undeclared war waged by imperialism and other reactionary forces against the DRA. The GDR therefore supports the constructive proposals of the Afghan Government of May 1980 and August 1981 for a political solution to the situation around Afghanistan.

In accordance with the decisions of the 10th SED Congress, efforts were undertaken to further develop the solidarity and cooperation with the forces of democracy, peace and social progress in Latin America, which are most immediately subjected to the imperialist policy of threat and boycott. This attitude of the GDR also found expression during the visit of a party and state delegation from Grenada headed by Maurice Bishop, chairman of the Central Committee

Politburo of the New Jewel Movement and prime minister of the revolutionary people's government of Grenada, which stayed in the GDR at the invitation of Comrade Erich Honecker. The talks between Comrades Erich Honecker and Maurice Bishop took place in the spirit of friendship and solidarity between the SED and the New Jewel Movement, between our state and Grenada. On this occasion the GDR once again expressed its firm affinity and active solidarity with the people of Grenada and all peoples of the Caribbean in the struggle against the attempts at interference by aggressive imperialist circles, and for strengthening national independence and social progress.

Relations with India--this important factor of peace, stability and independence in Asia--have proved their vital force in the past months. The visits at a high level in both directions reflect the rapid development of equal cooperation to the benefit of both sides.

#### United Action in the Struggle Against Imperialism

The current extremely exacerbated international situation underscores our evaluation, made at the 10th Party Congress, that the effective action of the communist and workers parties, a comprehensive collaboration of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces is more necessary than ever. This was also made clear by the regular conference of representatives of 90 communist and workers parties concerning the activities of the journal problems of peace and socialism in Prague, to whose constructive course the activity of a delegation of our Central Committee headed by Comrade Hermann Axen also contributed.

The international theoretical conference on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, the outstanding leader of the Bulgarian and international workers movement, which took place in Sofia from 15 to 17 June and was attended by a SED delegation under the leadership of Comrade Hermann Axen, became a significant political event.

In our country Georgi Dimitrov was appreciated in many ways--at rallies, scientific colloquiums, and exhibitions; in publications, radio and television programs and other ways--as a passionate and undaunted struggler for peace and socialism, against imperialism, fascism and war. His ardent friendship with the Soviet Union, his joint struggle with Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, with the KPD, against imperialism and fascism have become a revolutionary tradition and historical legacy for us which we will always preserve. Georgi Dimitrov is a standing paragon for us as a courageous and steadfast defender of the cause of the workers class, of peace and social progress at the Leipzig Reichstag fire trial, as a resolute prosecutor of imperialism and fascism.

Dear comrades, central to fashioning our relations with the fraternal parties has been the consolidation of the fraternal alliance with Lenin's party. The collaboration with the other fraternal parties of our community has deepened. Our party attaches great importance to multilateral cooperation in the international and ideological spheres, as well as in the field of the party's organizational work, and is making its contribution to implementing the coordinated policy.

Thus a delegation under the leadership of Comrade Horst Dohlius participated in the conference of the secretaries for party and organizational matters of the Central Committees of socialist parties in Prague. Central to the deliberations were the increased demands on the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in all social sectors, their constant political and ideological consolidation, as well as the growing demands on the standard of management activity and the further development of a work style linked with the masses.

The Politburo and the Central Committee secretariat have paid great attention to even more effectively fashioning the delegation work and particularly the exchange of experiences with the fraternal parties.

Agreements on the exchange of delegations and experiences for the years 1982-83 were concluded with the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries.

#### The DKP Consistently Represents the Working People's Interests

It is with great pleasure that we welcomed in our republic in April a delegation of the DKP presidium under the leadership of its Chairman Herbert Mies. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, conducted a comprehensive exchange of views with the DKP comrades which was marked by the traditionally close and cordial affinity of the two parties. In the course of this exchange Comrade Erich Honecker showed our high respect for the DKP's struggle for securing peace and the social and democratic interests of the FRG working people.

Comrade Mies gave a graphic account of the DKP's great efforts to strengthen the peace movement, to work against the implementation of the NATO missile decision, and to mobilize the working people to actively fight the shifting of the burden of the capitalist crisis onto their shoulders. He did this both during the talks with Comrade Honecker and during the numerous friendly meetings which he had with the working people in our country.

Everything that the DKP chairman said during his visit to the GDR opened up to our party members new insights into the complicated conditions under which our fraternal party is working in the FRG. It also impressively demonstrated to them how the working people are treated under capitalist conditions.

In view of all this, Comrade Mies stated, the fact that real socialism in the GDR guarantees economic growth, stability and full employment is all the more important. The cause of peace and socialism is in good hands in the German worker-peasant state.

The visit of Harilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, to the GDR reaffirmed the close relations between our two parties which are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the period under review, a delegation of our party headed by Kurt Hager participated in the 24th French Communist Party congress, and another delegation headed by Guenter Schabowski participated in the congress of the Communist Party of India. Other delegations participated in the congresses of the Communist Party of Ireland, the Communist Party of Canada, the Communist Party of Norway, the progressive party of the working people of Cyprus (AKEL), and the Communist Party of Ecuador.

Our party has purposefully developed its relations with the revolutionary, avant-garde parties and the national liberation movements. The meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, and Sam Nujoma, chairman of SWAPO, in the GDR was a convincing a manifestation of anti-imperialist solidarity.

They resolutely condemned the dangerous attempts of imperialism to expand the confrontation policy to southern Africa with the help of the racist regime. With subversion and threats, blackmail and aggression vis-a-vis Angola, Mozambique and the other progressive states and forces, they want to deprive the peoples of the fruits of their liberation struggle and turn back the wheel of history of the African continent.

In the period under review our party has continued its work aimed at continuing the dialogue and at joint activities with socialist and social-democratic parties. Thus for instance a delegation of the SED Central Committee participated in the "international conference against nuclear arms, for disarmament and nuclear-free zones" in Tokyo from 14 to 16 May 1982 at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Japan.

#### The 10th FDGB Congress Reflected the Working People's Readiness to Perform

In the period under review, the work of the Politburo in the field of the economy consistently concentrated on further implementing the economic strategy for the 1980's adopted by the 10th SED Congress. What matters is increasing the national economic performance in order to continue the policy of the main task in the unity of economic and social policy. This serves people, this serves the further strengthening of socialism in the GDR and thus the securing of peace.

The 10th FDGB Congress, the strongest class organization of our country, reaffirmed the cohesion of the GDR trade unionists to struggle to implement the political course adopted by the 10th SED Congress to secure peace and to further strengthen the GDR universally.

With its decisions, with the unanimously adopted report of the national executive committee, with the resourceful discussion, with the greetings message to the SED Central Committee and with the declaration of will to struggle for securing and preserving peace, the congress demonstrated the power and political maturity of the biggest class organization of the GDR working people. The 10th FDGB Congress gave an impressive picture of the manifold activity of the trade unions as a school of socialism, as the driving force of socialist competition, and representative of the working people's interests. It demonstrated that the trade unions have become a force on which the socialist state is based.

The 10th FDGB Congress reflects the readiness of our country's working people to continue the constant development of the capacity of our national economy by new deeds in socialist competition, to further improve the working and living conditions, and to consistently continue the unity of economic and social policy.

A special climax of the 10th FDGB Congress was the address of the SED general secretary. It was met with enthusiastic approval and had a decisive influence on the course and results of the congress. This address encouraged the delegates to courageously and bravely do everything that the times demand of them.

#### To Utilize All Available Potentials For the Policy of the Main Task

The congress proved how the economic strategy for the 1980's founded by the 10th SED Congress determines the work of all trade union executive committees and leaderships. It demonstrated the growing, resourceful and creative work of the members for further developing the economic power of our republic.

Now it is necessary to concentrate all ideological and organizational power on fulfilling the national economic plan for 1982. The productive achievement provided in the plan, the necessary final product for exports, the supply of the population and the development of the domestic national economy must be secured month by month, week by week, day by day.

In the entire party it is better and better understood that, as Comrade Honecker declared in his address to the Kreis first secretaries in February, "a new situation has developed in international economic relations which requires drastic changes and a basically different action." In the successful continuation of the policy of the main task in the 1980's, the main thing is to consistently guarantee intensively expanded reproduction, to produce more and qualitatively better products with a lower expenditure, to increasingly use one's own possibilities and get along with what we have.

During the seminar with the general directors of the combines and party organizers of the Central Committee in Leipzig, convened at the decision of the Central Committee secretariat of our party, they discussed what is necessary in every combine in order to implement the national economic plan of 1982 and to prepare the national economic plan for 1983. Of special importance are the commitments of the general directors of the combines and party organizations of the Central Committee to overfulfill industrial goods production by at least 2 days output. The additional production is to be primarily achieved by better utilization of domestic raw materials and economical use of the available energy, material and industrial material funds, and by increasing labor productivity.

Of great importance are the commitments to give back raw materials, industrial materials and energy resources to the amount of about M1 billion, including 168,000 tons of coke and 20,000 tons rolled steel as well as industrial fittings to the value of over M11 million.

## Solid Results in Competition

The Politburo constantly occupied itself with implementing the 1982 national economic plan.

Thanks to the multifaceted initiatives of the working people in all sectors of the GDR national economy, a considerable plan lead was achieved in major areas in the socialist competition by the end of May. The annual plan for industrial commodity output was fulfilled by 41.0 percent, and its fulfillment exceeds the total working hours plan of 40.7 percent.

By the end of May, the plan targets were overfulfilled by 100.7 percent. Industrial products valued at M1,245,000,000 were supplied to the population and the national economy, and for exports in excess of the plan.

In industrial commodity production, industrial combines achieved a lead of a total of 0.8 daily outputs. All sectors have exceeded the planned output since the beginning of the year. A 4 percent output increase was achieved as compared with the average daily performance in 1981. The plan for sales of finished products to the population as a whole was overfulfilled. Products valued at M335 million were delivered in excess of the plan.

Of the 133 centrally-managed combines in the industrial sector, 130 have fulfilled or exceeded the plan for industrial commodity output. These comprise the "Schwarze pumpe" gas combine, the Mansfeld Wilhelm Pieck combine in Eisleben, the Schwedt petrochemical combine, the Walter Ulbricht Leuna works, the Piesteritz agrochemical combine, the Fuerstenwalde tire combine, the Carl Zeiss Jena combine, the Erfurt microelectronics combine, the Berlin automation equipment combine, the Erfurt Herbert Warnke transformer equipment combine, the Plauen "Deko" combine and others.

With their great performances, the miners of the coal and power industry have secured continuous supplies of fuel and power to the population and economy. At the same time, it was possible to a considerable extent to replace imported fuels with domestic ones. There has been a lead of 831,000 tons over the plan in raw coal extraction, and a lead of 91 million cubic meters in the production of city gas.

The Politburo has deliberated on the causes of the accident at the "Schwarze pumpe" gas combine, and has drawn conclusions. It primarily points out that in all phases of the production process, the unity of production, performance increase and safety must be safeguarded by all means. The Politburo has expressed its gratitude and recognition to the members of the experts' commission and to all collectives engaged in the reconstruction of the destroyed plant, for their outstanding work.

## Production Increased While Fewer Means Were Employed

Of decisive importance for the performance increase in the past few months is that a more intensive use was made of the qualitative factors of economic

growth by means of intensification and rationalization. The improvement of the relationship between input and output is particularly reflected in the fulfillment by 102.7 percent of the plan for net industrial output by 31 May. The fact is particularly important that the planned basic material costs per M100 worth of commodity production were considerably cut. This is tantamount to saving M505 million. In this context, however, the still existing varying results in this field must not be overlooked.

Great efforts were made in socialist competition to better utilize domestic raw materials and to more effectively employ the available quantities of energy, raw materials and materials. It was possible to ensure the increased production with funds that were lower than in the preceding year. It was possible in the first 5 months of this year to reduce the use of liquid fuels in the national economy by 14 percent, and that of hard coal coke by 9 percent. In all probability, the specific employment of rolled steel in the metal processing industry will be reduced by 6 percent in the first half of 1982.

Dear comrades, the plan for the output of construction was fulfilled by 100.6 percent by the end of May. Further progress has been achieved in the building industry in exploiting qualitative production factors. The net output plan was fulfilled by 105.2 percent. The basic material costs per M100 worth of output, were reduced in excess of the plan.

In transportation, the shifting of road transport to the railroads and inland waterways, as well as the measures for a more rational fashioning of delivery and transport relations, have resulted in a more economical use of transportation, in a reduction of specific transport expenses and in saving fuel. The railroads achieved a performance increase of 2.4 percent compared with the same period last year.

By the end of May, investments totaling M11.7 billion were effected in industry, transport, posts and telecommunications, environmental protection and water management. This is 34.8 percent of the investments planned for 1982.

To sum up, it can be underscored that a remarkable economic performance increase has been achieved in the first 5 months of this year. The further successful implementation of the national economic plan requires our daily waging and well managing the struggle for its fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment in all sectors of our national economy.

#### To Enhance Effectiveness of Science and Technology

The measures to link the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution occupied a vast amount of time in the Politburo's deliberations. By the end of May, 566 tasks in the state plan for science and technology were fulfilled according to plan, and an additional 43 tasks were fulfilled ahead of plan. This is 26 percent of the tasks planned for this year.

The third Central Committee meeting decided to examine the 20,000 research and development tasks of combines and enterprises, which will be carried out in 1982, and to strictly adjust them to the 5-year plan targets. As a result, considerably greater targets were set to increase the efficiency and quality of production. Thus the production volume of new products, especially the share of top products for exports and for the requirements of our national economy, was increased. Two thirds of the research and development tasks are being carried out in two or less years.

It is now decisive to increase the economic efficiency of technology and science even more. This requires us to utilize the scientific-technological capacities for the major trends of scientific-technical progress in a uniform and concentrated manner.

The comparison of performance rates between combines in the field of science and technology must be increased to achieve top products playing a decisive role in the world market, a higher production, the highest possible increase in labor productivity and a reduction in production costs. Scientific-technological results must always be tested by the effect they have on the national economy when applied in practice. The setting of economic tasks and economic results are the standard by which scientific-technological activity goes.

Research and technology will only then yield greater economic results when the production volume of new and better quality products is increased more rapidly. Immediately after being introduced into the production process, new products should be produced in such quantities as to enable us to utilize all our export possibilities and to better meet the requirements of our own national economy.

#### 15,000 Robots Now in Operation

To improve the contribution of research and technology, the technological level of the production process must be generally improved. Especially on the basis of a purposeful use of robot-technology for the automation of production, one should seek multiple possibilities for reducing the amount of labor and manpower.

There are more than 15,000 robots in use in our national economy. They have often determined the higher efficiency of technological processes. Considerable reserves can be achieved if the use of robots is thoroughly prepared everywhere from a technological viewpoint.

To save at least 2.5 men per robot, it is necessary to make use of the experience acquired in our national economy and to guarantee everywhere that robot-technology will bring about far-reaching changes in the overall economy and further improvements in the work and living conditions.

#### Lignite Is More and More Valuable for Us

Our country's energy and fuel supplies were ensured in the past months by making greater use of our own resources and by the most rational use of energy sources.

The role of crude lignite and of its processed products [veredlungsprodukte] has considerably increased. Of great importance for further ensuring stable energy supplies is the pledge by lignite miners to produce an additional 2.8 million tons of crude lignite in excess of plan tasks.

On 16 June 1982 the secretariat decided on directives aimed at stable supplies of fuel and energy for the people and our economy in the winter of 1982-83. Those directives are the basis for the political leadership of all party organizations and the work of the state leaders in the coal and energy sector and in the fields of the national economy who have to achieve important cooperation ventures in this industrial branch. The key question is to ensure an increase in the efficiency of the national economy and smooth energy supplies for the people.

The commissioning of new capacities must by all means be ensured upon schedule. Liquid energy sources, fuel oil, diesel oil and gasoline must be used even more sparingly.

Within the competition initiative: "Measures more precisely, calculate better, reduce costs," the "Walter Ulbricht" Leuna-Werke combine returned an amount of M8 million from collective funds. Together with the return of funds, the "Wilhelm Pieck" Mansfeld VEB combine will directly change the material consumption norms and use them as a basis for drafting the 1983 plan. The most efficient use of raw and other materials will be achieved through more effective enrichment processes.

#### Greater Speed in Microelectronics

The Politburo has decided on the basic line for further accelerating the development, production process and utilization of microelectronics in the GDR's national economy. It concerns an above average increase in the production of microelectronic components and special technological equipment and the development of new technologies and varieties of components. The time for developing and introducing new components into the production process should be shortened and the production costs should be constantly reduced. The further intensification of quality research work, development and production of electric components in industry and at the academy of sciences has to be ensured by the construction industry and its important suppliers, especially the chemical, glass and ceramics industry and by metallurgy with punctual deliveries that meet the required quality standards.

A fierce class struggle is taking place in this field too. The embargo policy practiced by U.S. imperialism and the countries under its influence aims at hampering the development of microelectronics in the GDR. The only possible answer to this is an increase in our own achievements and deepening cooperation with fraternal countries, especially with the Soviet Union.

A pressing requirement of the national economy is the further development of the secondary raw material economy. A third of the production and urban waste is currently being used as secondary raw materials and being recycled into the production process. On the basis of the new and further development of processes, installations and machines, better scientific-technical solutions for utilizing secondary raw materials ought to be sought. This is valid both for the modernization and development of preparation and processing capacities.

#### Concentrated Use of All Investment Funds

As a result of the reexamination of all investment projects decreed by the Politburo, a further concentration of investment activity on projects of decisive influence on the national economy, with an essentially shorter implementation period and a higher economic effectiveness, has been achieved. Thus the production increase of the checked projects was boosted by about M1.5 billion. More than three quarters of the projects, up to M5 billion, contained in the 1982 plan will be completed before the end of this year.

Through a strict state order and control, it must be ensured that not a single mark of investment funds is spent outside the projects stipulated in the plan. That is a question of party and state discipline.

Hence the Politburo has stipulated measures for further improving the quality of management and planning of basic assets reproduction in accordance with the requirements of the 1980's. The crux of the matter is to modernize the existing production potential, to raise the effectiveness of plant's self-production of rationalization means, and to closely link capacity planning with the planning of basic assets reproduction.

Better utilization of the existing assets is an important, and at the same time the least expensive, source for production growth. At present the shiftwork utilization rate [tschichtkoeffizient] in industry is 1.346. If we improve the shiftwork utilization rate in the centrally administered combines by merely 2 hundredths, we will get an increase of industrial goods output by M4.5 billion annually with the same basic assets input. Here is a large reserve which must be tapped through increasing multishift work.

#### Good Work is Worthwhile

Growing labor productivity, excellent quality of products and declining production costs constitute an inseparable unity for decisively improving the input-output ratio in the national economy. Declining costs, especially reduced production expenditures, are increasingly becoming direct prerequisites for boosting production.

Good results will primarily be achieved where the director generals of the combines wage the struggle for higher economic effectiveness of scientific-technical work with the necessary resolution; consistently enforce the state norms systems, limits and quotas for the use of raw materials, materials and energy resources; and uncompromisingly combat any kind of waste, squander and loss.

The Politburo has adopted a number of decisions designed to further perfect management, planning and economic stimulation.

In compliance with the newly adopted principles for working with the bonus fund, those enterprises will have advantages which adopt high plan targets for goods

production, for net production, for raising labor productivity and lowering costs, as well as targets in the export sector, and which fulfill and overfulfill these targets. As before, by far the largest share of the enterprise bonus funds will be used for paying the end-of-the-year bonuses.

The means of the performance fund must be used more purposefully and more effectively for socialist rationalization and for improving the working people's working and living conditions.

The use of the cultural and social fund will be newly regulated in the interest of ensuring a still better and more efficient supply of, and care for, the working people. The responsibility of the managers for the use of every mark of the cultural and social fund for the benefit of the working people, and for preventing any inappropriate use, will be increased. The enterprise trade union leaderships will be given increased control rights.

The new law on the contract system for state-owned enterprises, which will go into effect on 1 July, is of great importance for further strengthening Democratic centralism in the field of economic management and planning. It is aimed at consolidating the unity of plan, balance sheet and contract. The economic contract is an active instrument for ensuring the fulfillment of the tasks stipulated by the plan and the balance sheets. Here we proceeded from the principle, confirmed in practice, that punctual plan and contract fulfillment in compliance with stipulated requirements and quality standards is the fundamental condition for high overall economic effectiveness.

#### 160 Improvement Agreements With the Soviet Union

The Politburo regularly discusses basic questions of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR.

As far as the program of specialization and cooperation of production between the GDR and the USSR until 1990 is concerned, the Politburo can state that the implementation of the arrangements made by Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, TCPSU Central Committee general secretary, on the main questions of developing the economic relations between our countries has led to an essential expansion and deepening of cooperation with the USSR in all fields of science, technology and production.

Purposeful work is being done on all key points contained in the program of specialization and cooperation. This applies to tasks that are being solved within the framework of existing agreements, as well as to new tasks connected with new agreements or agreements that are being prepared.

At the 30th session of the GDR-USSR Bipartite Government Commission, which was held this month, another eight government agreements and eight ministerial agreements were signed. They include, among others, the agreement on ferry traffic for the further stabilization of export and import goods transport, and the agreement on cooperation in the field of modern plastics production. Thus there are at present between the GDR and the USSR 160 government and ministerial agreements for economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

of great importance for our economy is our participating in such new projects in the USSR whereby we achieve a long-term guarantee for the supplies needed by our national economy. This includes the GDR's participation in the construction of the Urengoi-Ushgorod gas pipeline.

In accordance with the agreement between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev reached during the meeting in the Crimea last year, new steps were taken in cooperation with the USSR in the field of consumer goods.

#### Trade with Fraternal Countries is a Solid Basis for Our Economy

The Politburo has several times examined questions concerning the progress of scientific-technical and economic cooperation with the other countries of the socialist community.

The increasingly forceful development of our foreign trade relations with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries continues to be a decisive basis for implementing our economic and political targets. In the period covered by this report, the annual protocols on goods exchange with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were signed after comprehensive and thorough negotiations.

Thus, trade with the socialist countries, which represents a 67 percent share in the overall goods exchange of the GDR, continues to be a solid foreign trade basis for the development of our national economy. By the end of May the plan for exports to the USSR was fulfilled 104.4 percent. The planned exports to the other socialist countries showed a 102 percent fulfillment in the first 5 months of 1982.

The Politburo viewed the recent 36th CEMA session in Budapest as an important contribution to further strengthening the unity and closeness of the socialist countries. Cooperation within CEMA gains in importance also in view of the policy of confrontation of the imperialist countries, which aims at sharpening the international situation.

The decisions of the session and the documents that were signed on intensified cooperation in the construction of nuclear power plants, in microelectronics and industrial robots contribute to jointly solving important tasks of the economic development of CEMA countries in the eighties. It is especially important to intensify social production by accelerating scientific-technological progress.

The CEMA session program on coordinating the 1986-90 plans makes it possible to soon begin examining basic questions of economic relations and further deepening cooperation in the next 5-year plan. Thus, it is important to make use of all opportunities in that cooperation to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of our national economy.

It is the Politburo's task to decisively increase especially the production of profitable and highly technical export goods. This makes it necessary for combines, ministries and--in the case of overlapping economic questions--the council of ministers to make the necessary decisions to readjust the production process. This requires vigilance, but also appropriate perseverance.

#### Housing Construction Characterized by Qualitatively New Traits

Due to efforts by the working people and despite higher costs, it was possible to successfully continue our sociopolitical program. Of primary importance is the implementation of the housing construction program--the core of our sociopolitical program. Some 69,337 dwellings were newly built or modernized in the past months. Thus, housing conditions improved for some 207,000 citizens. Some 1,644 new apartments were commissioned in excess of plan. Some 3,934 nursery places, 7,575 kindergarten places, 709 classrooms in general-education schools and 34 school sports halls were commissioned in new housing areas and in other areas by the end of May. Through the restoration and maintenance of housing, an amount of M1.4 billion was invested in construction work, supported by the people's initiative: "Join-us!" competition.

As up to now, during the period covered by this report the further modernization of the GDR capital was given priority. By the end of May 7,018 new apartments were built in Berlin or modernized, of which 4,739 are new apartments.

The implementation of our housing program, including new construction, modernization and maintenance of buildings will be determined by qualitatively new traits in the eighties. The decisive task consists of making use of the considerable material and financial means, which have been planned for this complex housing project, in such a manner that, together with the improvement of housing conditions, we will also achieve a better relationship between investment and results. To achieve greater efficiency in housing construction, it is necessary to strictly observe the planned investment norms in all districts.

In June this year, the Politburo decided on measures aimed at further implementing the housing construction program up to 1985. They include clear guidelines on how to achieve the best possible sociopolitical efficiency in housing construction with the planned and considerably high material and financial means.

The Bezirk and Kreis leadership should influence, on a party line, the consistent implementation of these measures. The minister for construction has been asked to uniformly supervise how those tasks are fulfilled and to undertake the necessary consultations with the responsible comrades of the Bezirk leadership.

#### To Rationally Modernize Existing Housing

An important contribution to effectively implementing all planned construction tasks was made by the eighth congress of the union of architects of the GDR which took place on 6 and 7 May this year. It proved the determination and the creative competition between our architects and urban planners to

achieve a favorable relationship between costs and results already in the project form of their construction activity, and to guarantee solid city planning and architectural quality. This also means rationally preserving the existing valuable housing, modernizing it and harmoniously linking buildings under construction with old ones.

Our experience has taught us that if planned construction costs are respected or kept lower, it is possible to achieve greater progress in further improving housing conditions for our citizens, in making our cities and villages look more beautiful, and last but not least in constantly strengthening the economic efficiency of our national economy.

Dear Comrades! In accordance with improved conditions, the people's net income increased 3.3 percent since the beginning of the current year. Compared with the same timespan last year, more goods worth M510 million were sold to the people in the first 5 months of the current year.

#### More High-Quality Consumer Goods

In the first months of the current year, the Politburo made a number of decisions to ensure people's supplies. The supply of foodstuffs, bread, bakery goods, milk, milk products, children's food, potatoes and other items were constantly ensured. The offer of high fat-content cheese, eggs, sugar and sweets was quantitatively larger than last year. As for delicatessen items, especially coffee, hard liquor and cigarettes, consumption exceeded planned targets.

The development of an increase in the production of consumer goods characterized by solid product quality, durability, high operational efficiency, low repair costs and appealing design are more and more a criterion for further progress in people's supply. For this year the national plan envisages some 4,500 new consumer items worth M17,839 billion for the people and for export purposes. That means 20 percent of the consumer goods production in industry, and M1.7 billion more than in 1981.

New consumer goods worth more than M5 billion were secured in the first 4 months for the people and for export, including the R500 stereo radio recorder, manual vacuum cleaners, electric sewing machines, the A55 and A60 as well as the VA560 and VA860 washing machines, ladies watches and a new range of lighting fixtures.

One must see to increasing the contribution by Bezirk-led combines in order to increase the production of such products in demand as electrical consumer goods, household items, purses and small leather items, do-it-yourself products, garden and leisure utensils, as well as the 1,000 small things. The centrally-led combines, with their considerable possibilities and experience and with their great scientific-technical potential, should effectively contribute to this.

#### The 12th Peasants Congress was an Expression of Class Unity

In keeping with the 10th Party Congress decision, the 12th peasants congress of the GDR took place in Berlin 13-14 May. A delegation of the Politburo led by Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, participated. The broad political preparation of that congress contributed to deepening the understanding of the party's economic policy in the eighties by agricultural cooperative members and by workers in agriculture, forestry and the food indus-

try. It contributed to promoting their efficiency and to guaranteeing the implementation of economic targets on the basis of tangible measures and tasks, and under changed conditions.

The congress proceedings took place in an optimistic and constructive atmosphere, and demonstrated the unanimous attachment of the agricultural cooperative members and the workers in GDR agriculture, forestry and the food industry to the policy of the party of the workers class. They reflected the strong and unshakable link between the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party and the class of the agricultural cooperative members as the political basis of our socialist country.

The delegates unanimously confirmed the decision of the 12th peasant congress and the draft of the new LPG-law. Both documents are of great importance for further strengthening socialist production conditions in the countryside and for developing the class of agricultural cooperative members and deepening the unity between the workers class and the class of cooperative peasants.

To give general application to the experience gained by the political-ideological and economic activity in preparing the 12th peasant congress of the GDR, the Politburo heard a report by the Schwerin Bezirk leadership. The stance taken by the Politburo in this respect guided all Bezirk leaderships toward the central points in further activity following the Kreis peasant conferences and in the preparation of the congress.

After a thorough preparation of the Bezirk Party Aktiv meeting, annual general meetings and presentation of accountability reports took place in all LPG and VEG [People's Owned Estates]. In 193 Kreis peasant conferences, 51,609 chosen delegates discussed how the greater tasks can be fulfilled by assuming concrete tasks. Councils for the agriculture and food industry were elected at the Kreis peasant conferences. They must especially control how assumed work tasks are fulfilled, must see to the general application of experience and must contribute to overcoming existing differences in results and performance.

Upon a Politburo decision, a meeting of the SED Central Committee, and of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs with women cooperative peasants and workers took place as part and parcel of preparations for the 12th peasants congress.

The achieved degree of mechanization, particularly in plant production requires a more intensive employment of women and girls in modern agricultural technology, as well as their purposeful technical qualification.

It is necessary to do more to facilitate work in the animal production legs where many women are working in conventional animal sheds. The road must be paved to leading posts for young capable college and professional school graduates.

### To Higher Yields Through Further Intensification

It is now important in the political work of the party and state leaderships, proceeding from the clear prospects of the class of cooperative peasants and from cooperative property, to comprehensively consolidate the LPGS and to deepen cooperation between plant and animal production.

It is necessary to use the readiness of the cooperative peasants and workers to face the new, higher tasks of the eighties through wise organization and through creative and responsible work, so that the required performance increase is achieved with fewer means. The unity of economic and social policy also has a far-reaching impact in the agricultural sphere, and encourages the cooperative peasants and workers' will to achieve.

On this basis it is necessary to mobilize all forces in the socialist competition in order to fulfill the state procurement plan for milk and slaughtering cattle this year under the complicated conditions.

The yields and performances in plant and animal production must be further enhanced and stabilized on a priority basis through further intensification of production, and the domestic fodder base must be enlarged.

All efforts must be aimed at comprehensively utilizing science and technology, at effectively using each square meter of soil, constantly increasing its fertility, cutting losses and better using all the available fodder. At the same time this requires a highly economical use of power and materials, and an effective operation of fixed assets. The life span of technical equipment must be considerably extended.

The appeal of the youth brigade of the Hamersleben "Wilhelm Pieck" LPG to all mechanizers to compete with their colleagues on the basis of specific norms and to save fuel, lubricants and maintenance costs should be supported by all basic branches in the LPGS and VEGS.

The close linkage of modern agricultural science with the experiences and economic ideas of the peasants constitutes a new step toward enhancing the effectiveness which we need now. This is not achieved automatically. We should promote the ideological readiness of the cadres to more strongly face up to the new scientific findings. In addition, systematic work on the part of the state organs is required to implement science and technology.

### Demands On Agricultural Science

We have great hopes for agricultural science to create the required lead for a performance increase in plant production and animal husbandry, in technical equipment and technology, animal nutrition, socialist enterprise management and in other fields.

It is in line with fine peasant traditions to calculate wisely. If this is being done by the boards of cooperatives, by the managers and specialists in the LPGS and VEGS, as well as in the state organs, socialist enterprise management will advance. Such cooperatives and state farms possess balanced propor-

tions between labor, assets and enterprise structure. The cooperative peasants and workers accomplish great achievements in socialist competition. Their participation in the thinking, calculating and decisionmaking in the reproduction process; the full assertion of the performance principle; clearcut, organizational forms that are visible at once and which take into consideration the available territorial conditions, as well as a tight economical accountancy--all this will advance us further.

Vast potentials can still be unearthed through managerial work in those cooperatives whose production standard is lagging.

The delegates to the 12th GDR Peasants Congress unanimously advocated promoting production opportunities in the individual private economies of the cooperative peasants and workers. The private economies of the cooperative peasants and the vegetable gardens of the village dwellers are part and parcel of village life. At the same time they are greatly useful to society. This also applies to the activity of members of the union of small gardeners, settlers and small livestock breeders who set new targets for themselves at their fifth association congress in early June.

Fulfilling the 1982 national economic plan requires major efforts in agriculture.

As was demanded in the Politburo resolution of 1 June, purposeful measures must be defined to qualify animal keepers, primarily the milkers. College and technical school cadres from state and scientific institutions and agricultural consultative services must be enlisted to strengthen the LPG leadership where the production standard is still low.

Foot and mouth disease broke out in March in some Kreise of Rostock and Neubrandenburg Bezirke. There is no doubt that its successful control, with relatively low losses of animals, has been the outcome of the protective measures supported by the population with great discipline, quick vaccination of the animal stocks and other prophylactic measures. In doing so, we were supported by Soviet veterinary institutions.

#### Cooperation Among Plant and Animal Producers Proves Its Worth

The entire course of spring work has confirmed that the change in the organization of labor which was carried out in many cooperatives, the setting up of territorially organized brigades, and the definite assignment of technical equipment and soil have been advantageous for both speed and quality. A closer cooperation among plant and animal producers has also proved to be very useful in this respect.

On the whole, it is necessary to wage an even more vigorous struggle for high cultivation standards and to till the fields in an orderly manner even under difficult weather conditions. It is necessary to carefully replant gaps in the fields caused, for example, by dammed up water, which cannot be prevented. This particularly applies to the northern districts.

On 1 June the Politburo adopted a decision on measures in preparation for the grain and root crop harvest, as well as for the 1982 fall operations. This decision focuses on seeing to it that whatever has been grown is harvested and stored with minimum losses everywhere, and is delivered for sale or further processing or for fodder supplies to the animal stocks.

#### Students' Training With Great Effectiveness

In the period covered by the report, the activity of the communists and their political influence on the teaching, study, work and research collectives has further increased at the GDR academy of sciences and at the universities, colleges and technical schools. The members of the colleges and technical schools, and of the GDR Academy of Sciences, let themselves be guided by the fact that their activity in strengthening and protecting socialist constitutes their decisive contribution to securing peace. This is reflected in many efforts and pledges to enhance the technical standards, effectiveness and practical impact of teaching and research, and in exacting targets for the continuation of socialist competition. In letters to Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, in public speeches and in daily work the scientists are displaying their great confidence in the proven policy of the party of the workers class.

Great efforts are being undertaken to fundamentally improve the input-output ratio also in scientific work. The competition programs contain measures to further enhance the standard of communist education and of the qualified training of the students, as well as of the young generation of scientists. A particular task now arises for all disciplines to work out the consequences resulting from the party's economic strategy, and to bring them to bear in the education and training process.

The FDJ students' days and the exhibitions of students' performances in 1982 very impressively reflect the progress in the students independent scientific work. These results must be used even more strongly to enhance the standards of the entire education and training process. The comradely collaboration between the college and technical school teachers and the students and their FDJ branches should be further deepened.

#### Scientific Potentials Concentrated on Key Points

On 11 May 1982 the Politburo approved the concept for admission to college and technical school studies until 1990. Therefore, important decisions have been adopted for the development of colleges and technical schools in the coming decade, for the structure of admissions and on the number of graduates for the national economy until the mid nineties.

The GDR's scientific institutions are successfully using the possibilities, resulting from socialist economic integration, for enhancing the social effectiveness of science and of a college education. The quality and effectiveness of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states are being increased first and foremost through a coordination which centers on key issues, and through the concentration of potentials for mutual advantage.

The GDR college system is making a great contribution to supporting the developing countries by the training and advanced training of cadres on the basis of international solidarity, of mutually advantageous cooperation, and by dispatching experts.

The verification of research topics by all scientists' collectives after the Third Central Committee session has yielded important results for a more effective fashioning of research at the academy of sciences and at colleges, as well as specific conclusions for conducting the socialist competition. The scientific potential has been focused on solving significant national economic tasks, particularly in the field of microelectronics and robot technology.

In microelectronics, the GDR Academy of Sciences has set itself the task of intensifying research work on basic problems of new fundamental technologies and on new solutions involving components. Research on industrial robots was substantially intensified.

The comrades of the Central Institute for Optics and Spectroscopy have increased the services offered by their institute and are more strongly concentrating on topics of major national economic significance. In the chemistry research field, the comrades have set themselves the task of enhancing the national economic impact of research through more active political-ideological work.

It was possible to achieve good progress in the long-term coordination of basic research with combines and institutions of the national economy as well as in intensifying technical-technological work. A further increase in the efficiency rate of science and technology requires that the GDR Academy of Sciences and the colleges fully meet their specific responsibility for basic research, that they produce new theoretical findings and immediately contribute to the national economic performance development.

It must be ensured through a purposeful guidance of research that the planned results must be supplied in accordance with time and quality requirements, while much better using the available material-technical base, and that they are transmitted to production without any delay.

The critical verification of research targets and the constant comparison of the achieved partial results with social requirements must be continued. Through political-ideological work, the position must be even more strongly developed among all scientists that research work is only completed when its results are being applied, when they codetermine the international standard and yield high social benefits.

#### Good Results of Research Work

The first year of the central research plan of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences 1981-1985 has been concluded with good results. An essential contribution to these results has been made by projects serving the implementation of economic strategy, acceleration of scientific-technical progress, in the fields of GDR foreign policy and international relations, research into imperialism, and of the struggle against the bourgeois ideology.

We support the endeavors of scientists to make the results of their research increasingly available for management and planning of social processes through research reports, studies and similar elaborations. Numerous works give evidence of the growing effectiveness of social sciences in developing socialist awareness, deepening the understanding of history, and strengthening the pride in our socialist fatherland and the internationalist attitude of our citizens. Such books as "History of the FDJ" and "History of the FDGB" are playing an outstanding part in this respect.

From 18 to 21 May 1982 the fifth conference of the vice presidents for social sciences of the academies of sciences of the socialist countries was held in Berlin. Delegations from 10 socialist countries participated in this meeting. It made an important contribution toward developing the theoretical and ideopolitical work of the Marxist-Leninist social scientists of the socialist countries, and to increasing its effectiveness in the ideological class struggle.

Similarly good results were obtained at the congress of the multilateral commission of socialist countries for problems of cultural theory, literature and arts sciences held 25-30 March 1982 in Berlin.

#### Education for a Clear-Cut Class Position

The decision of the Central Committee secretariat "for raising the quality of the civics teaching and the political work with the civics teachers after the 10th SED Congress" is of special significance for implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress in the public education sector. The task set by the 10th Party Congress to help the young acquire solid knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and to use it as a compass for their own life, applies especially to civics teaching.

This decision stipulates how the contribution of this teaching subject toward developing an unchangeable revolutionary class position and the firm conviction of the victoriousness of the cause of socialism can be further increased. From this viewpoint the decision is at the same time of fundamental importance for work in all social science subjects of instruction.

The secretaries of the Bezirk and Kreis leaderships of the party have been asked to take measures to ensure a high level and more effective forms of ideopolitical work with the civics teachers. In particular, it must be ensured that topical political problems, the decisions of the party and their implementation in the field be thoroughly explained to the teachers of this subject, by leading functionaries of the party, state and economy.

Upon the decision of the Central Committee secretariat, the central directors conference of the Ministry of Public Education was held 10-12 May 1982 in Karl-Marx-Stradt. Directors and school functionaries discussed the results obtained in further developing the public education system after the 10th Party Congress, and exchanged their experiences. They worked out the requirements which result, after the third session of the Central Committee, for the further political-pedagogical work at the schools and other public education institutions.

## Teachers Full of Confidence in the Party's Policy

The conference reflected the teachers great confidence in the party's policy, and demonstrated their determination to make their contribution toward the further universal strengthening of our GDR, and thus toward safeguarding peace, through good, solid work in educating and training the new generation.

The speech of Comrade Margot Honecker, minister of public education, and the discussion speech of Comrade Kurt Hager, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, were received with strong approval and assessed as a working basis for the further implementation, with great initiative, of the decisions of the 10th Party Congress in the field of school policy.

It is the task of the party Kreis leaderships and of the school party organizations, in connection with the conclusion of the current school year and the preparation of the new school year, to ensure that in terms of the standards of the central directors conference, all schools assess what has been specifically achieved, which problems of political-pedagogical work require still greater attention, and which questions must be tackled even more consistently in view of the current and future requirements.

## To Link Education More Closely With Practice

An important condition for solving the tasks set for the schools is the constant raising of the militant strength of the school party organization. The further perfecting of communist education necessitates a further development of the responsibility of all basic organizations and of the social forces. Education and training must be linked even more closely with the practice of our social life. At every enterprise of industry, building industry and agriculture, a high quality of polytechnical teaching must be ensured. The multifarious specific opportunities of the enterprises, of the scientific, cultural and other societal institutions to exert influence on the education of the young generation must be still better used.

Together with the enterprise managements and trade union leaderships, the comrades in the local state organs are responsible for ensuring the personal and material conditions, including transportation, for students in the preparation for, and implementation of, the 1982-83 school year.

As a result of the growing birth rate in the past few years, the number of pre-school children will continue to increase in the coming years. The establishment of the required number of kindergarten places must be ensured in all regions. This should be constantly controlled by the party Kreis leaderships.

Dear Comrades, a thorough analysis of the third Central Committee meeting has touched off varied activities in the field of culture and arts, aimed at further raising the quality and effectiveness of cultural and artistic achievements in the struggle for safeguarding peace, and in shaping the developed socialist society.

It has always been part of the best traditions of progressive German writers and artists to openly take sides in the current struggles, with the weapons of art. With passion and persistency the cultural and arts workers of all sectors are working for peace and disarmament, against the imperialist intensified armament. Thus, lectures of the Writers Association and activities of the cultural league have been held in every Bezirk.

Further improving the intellectual-cultural prerequisites for our high economic performance increase must always be the focus of all cultural and arts institutions. Many proposals submitted during the trade union elections aimed at raising the cultural level of the workers class. Manifold stimuli emanated from the preparation of the workers festivals which will be held in the Neubrandenburg Bezirk in a few days.

Where the decisions of the third Central Committee session were correctly understood, new ways and means are being found, through local initiative and joint efforts, to continue the upswing of intellectual-cultural life.

#### Many Initiative of the Cultural League

Many initiatives have emanated from the cultural league of the GDR in the period under review. A considerable contribution toward this was made by the new election of its leadership. About 150,000 members participated in about 6,000 election meetings. The 10th National Congress has confirmed that the cultural league members are indefatigably working for a multifaceted intellectual-cultural life of high ideological effectiveness.

The higher standards set by the 10th Party Congress determine the development of arts in our socialist society. They have also marked the delegates conference of the GDR Association of Composers and Musicologists, which was held in February 1982 in Berlin. In their discussions the delegates expressed their strong affinity with the policy of our party. The musicians were able to point out good results of their past work, and determined their future tasks which primarily consist of raising the quality and effectiveness of socialist music.

The "Berlin Days of People's Art" held from 29 April to 2 May in the palace of the republic became a popular festival of optimism and joy of living which produced a strong effect on the masses. More than 4,000 people's artists of the capital provided about 150,000 Berliners and their guests with a great political and artistic experience.

The bestowing of awards on the occasion of Johann Friedrich Boettger's 300th birthday and of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's 150th death anniversary give new evidence of the continuous and creative incorporation of the cultural heritage in our country, a heritage with a living relationship to the tasks of the present.

In all fields of culture and arts, it is necessary to further increase their effectiveness for the development of a socialist personality and awareness, for the promotion of creativeness, pleasure in work and well-being of the working people. Decisive prerequisites for this are the consolidation of ideological positions of the cultural workers and artists, and the deepening of their relations with the socialist reality. In accordance with our time-tested policy of alliance, the Bezirk and Kreis leaderships should further intensify their cooperation with cultural workers and artists.

#### A Great Accomplishment: New Construction of the Berlin Charite

In the period under review, noteworthy results were achieved in further developing our socialist health and social services, a few days ago the newly constructed Berlin Charite [hospital] was opened by Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary. Thus the to-date most important investment project in the GDR higher education and public health sector has been completed.

Many initiatives have been touched off among the health and social services workers by the performance-oriented wage increases for medium-salary medical personnel and other vocational groups, which went into effect in December last year upon the decision of the Politburo.

In medical and social care for the citizens, the promotion of basic medical care, especially by general practitioners, is given first priority. Great attention is devoted to combatting frequently occurring chronic diseases as well as infectious diseases. Prophylactic treatment is gaining increased importance as a social task. All endeavors are important which are designed to ensure qualified medical care for the working people at the enterprises, and the elimination of still existing health hazards at the working place.

The joint efforts of public health, enterprises and trade unions to reduce sick leave must be strengthened through the consistent general application of positive experiences. We are greatly interested in improving the level of health care for mothers and children. Care for the elderly and handicapped citizens is of general social concern, as was pointed out at the ninth central delegates conference of people's solidarity, and at the seventh congress of the union of the blind and one-eyed of the GDR in June this year.

The workers in health care and social security are more and more guided by the fact that their responsible activity devoted to life and health can directly contribute to strengthening socialism and to revealing its superiority and humane nature.

The belief is constantly strengthened that by consistently continuing the unity between the economic and social policy in the field of health and social security in the eighties, too, it is necessary to considerably increase efficiency, so as to ensure greater benefits for the health of our citizens on the basis of the comprehensive potential available.

The party leadership has made the necessary decisions on developing physical training and sports. Broad response has been noted as concerns the seventh gymnastics and sports festival and the ninth children and youth Spartakiad of the GDR. The proper planned progress of the preparations for the big national physical training and sports festival is proven by the numerous activities

within the "Spartakiad and relay race '83" of the German gymnastics and sports federation, by the positive results of the Spartakiad sports competition and those recorded in practice for the sports show of the festival, and by people's sports competitions.

#### Four Million Working People Practice Sports

Almost 200,000 children and youth participated in winter sports within the Kreis and Bezirk children and youth Spartakiad.

In preparing for the coming summer sports Kreis and Bezirk Spartakiad, we must see that the level of those positive experiences is kept up. Within the framework of the preliminary contests, we must pay special attention to Kreis sports competitions of apprentices.

Within the framework of leisure and recreation sports, more and more working people are making use of sports opportunities in combines and enterprises, in residential areas and during weekends and holiday. The joint sports program of the GDR German gymnastics and sports federation, of the FDGB and FDJ is promoting such efforts in many respects. Last year alone more than 4 million workers, employees, cooperative peasants, intellectuals and other working people participated in that program.

It is especially gratifying to note that the jogging and hiking movement is constantly broadening. Essential impetus has been given to sports activities by the GDR badges program: "Ready for work and for defending the fatherland."

Our sportswomen and sportsmen achieved positive results at the European and world winter sports championships. The GDR was able to maintain its good position within the winter Olympics. However, we have also realized that we have to accelerate the pitch of performance in such disciplines as special ski jumping, cross country skiing and men's speed skating and figure skating.

The 35th peace ride in our capital of Berlin was received with enthusiasm. The extraordinary success scored by our peace drivers within the overall, individual and team rating is the result of purposeful training and an excellently fighting collective.

Within the summer Olympics, the majority of the overall 40 world and European championships for senior and junior sportsmen this year are still to take place. We are firmly convinced that trainers, sports scientists, sports physicians and sports employees will continue to spare no efforts to prepare our national teams for those important international sports competitions.

At the invitation of the GDR National Olympic Committee, Juan Antonio Samaranch, chairman of the International Olympics Committee [IOC], paid a visit to the GDR. The IOC chairman's stay in our republic and his talks with Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the state council, were an opportunity for an intensive exchange of opinions about current issues of the international Olympic movement.

## The State Power Has Been Further Strengthened

During the timespan since the third Central Committee meeting, the Politburo and secretariat made a number of decisions aimed at further strengthening our socialist state power. Our worker and peasant state guarantees the political stability of our socialist society. The capability of the bodies of our worker and peasant state to lead the economic and other social processes in a complex manner has improved. This is reflected by the increased fighting energy of the party and state bodies.

The party elections have especially contributed to strengthening that fighting energy. As is customary with communists, they were held in a sound, party and optimistic atmosphere. It was frankly and critically discussed what concrete responsibilities are devolving on each communist within the state apparatus to ensure the strict implementation of party decisions.

To continue to implement the 10th Party Congress decisions under changed circumstances requires uncompromisingly fighting to implement each task and resolving each problem creatively. This is of special importance for regional planning. Both in solving long-term projects and with regard to the many daily issues, state functions cannot do without the participation of working people and without making use of their proposals.

Progress has undoubtedly been recorded in this respect. However, our people's representatives, their bodies and deputies have not yet exhausted the opportunities to continue to progress in ensuring regional production conditions; in exploring and opening further reserves for increasing the efficiency of enterprises; in securing supplies, transportation means and means of conveyance by strictly respecting the set energy, power and fuel quotas, and in solving the multifaceted communal problems.

All our experience proves that task-related comparisons of performance and a thorough analysis of results can effectively contribute to overcoming mediocrity and to succeeding in applying the best work experience and thus achieve better results with less effort.

## Responsibility for an Effective Communal Policy

Multifaceted activities have been carried out in the past months to further improve work by local state bodies in towns and villages. Proceeding from the third Central Committee meeting and from Comrade Erich Honecker's speech to the first Kreis secretaries, the conferences of mayors and state functionaries in several Bezirk discussed conclusions for the activity of people's representatives, their councils and mayors. The tasks thus agreed upon, which were mentioned in letters to our party's Central Committee general secretary, are of great importance. They reflect the great responsibility of the socialist state power in towns and villages for an effective communal policy.

It is necessary to have capable and reliable mayors everywhere who, as representatives of the state power and as trustworthy representatives of the citizens, are accurately fulfilling state tasks together with the deputies, and promoting the activity carried out by citizens. To achieve this, the cadres activity and that of Kreis councils should focus even more on this issue. Our party's

Bezirk and Kreis leaderships should strengthen their influence in local party organizations, party groups of local people's representatives and in basic organizations in the state bodies.

Dear Comrades! The Politburo has heard a report by the GDR general prosecutor on the development and fight against crime in 1981. In guaranteeing legal security and legal protection for our citizens and society against crimes and other violations of the law, our socialist state is characterized by great stability. We view this as a positive result of the struggle waged by our socialist society against crime, and a result of the successful activity carried out by the security and justice bodies in our worker and peasant state.

In further strengthening the socialist legal order, we support all initiatives aimed at guaranteeing legal security and legal protection for our citizens and society against crimes and other violations of the law. We have to take more effective actions to prevent fires, damage or other disruptions of the production process. All leading personnel in combines and enterprises are dutybound to see to this to a great extent.

The new law on social tribunals, which was adopted by the fourth people's assembly session, is of far-reaching importance for our citizens' contribution to strengthening our socialist legal order. On the basis of this law, the rights of the social tribunals are broadened considerably. This will contribute to increasing their influence on safeguarding the citizens' rights and also on the responsible fulfillment of citizens' legal duties toward their fellow citizens and society. It is in keeping with the interests of society if social tribunals pay greater attention to protecting public property and to the observance and application of city and communal regulations.

It is recommended that Kreis leaderships and our party's basic organizations assist the members of social tribunals and all those who are responsible for their support in state bodies, social establishments and enterprises in preparing for 1 January 1983 when this law comes into force.

#### Secure Protection for Socialist Achievements

In the timespan covered by this report, the party acted, as usual, in accordance with the Leninist principle which stipulates that the struggle for peace and protecting the socialist fatherland are inseparately linked. Socialist national defense has been further strengthened, and the security of our state border has increased. At the end of May the deputies of the people's assembly unanimously endorsed the law of military service in the GDR and the law on the GDR's state border. Both laws have been in force ever since 1 May 1982. They have been clearly approved by the working people, the military, the border guards and the other members of the GDR's defense and security bodies.

On the basis of the most recent military-political and military-scientific notions, on the basis of the demands of the present and of the near future, the legal conditions are ensured so that the working people, so that every citizen may be able to implement his right and duty to defend his peaceful life and his socialist fatherland in a reliable manner.

Both laws represent a further step forward toward a consistent implementation of the foreign, security and military policy adopted at the 10th SED Congress, which is aimed at the people's well-being and at guaranteeing peace. The implementation of this policy guarantees the stability, inviolability and sovereignty of the workers and peasants' power, which is capable of fulfilling all duties necessary to ensure reliable protection of socialist law and order, and which is also capable of bearing its responsibility in the community of the fraternal Warsaw Pact member countries for ensuring peace and security.

A session of the military council of the Warsaw Pact allied armed forces was held in April 1982 in Berlin, the capital of the GDR. In an atmosphere of friendship and in a spirit of close cooperation, as well as mutual understanding, this session expressed the firm resolve of the fraternal countries to constantly and unrelentingly perfect the combat strength and combat readiness of the allied armies, under the present circumstances of a tense international situation, and to do everything within their power to implement this perfection.

#### People's Army and Border Troops with High Achievements

Loyal to their patriotic and international attitude, the National People's Army [NVA] and the border troops are fulfilling their military duty. Under the tested slogan: "Combat position 10th Party Congress. For a high combat readiness! Everything for the good of the people!" The army personnel and the border troops accomplished outstanding achievements in their political and combat training and in implementing the tasks of military service, as well as of combat service in protecting our state border during the first half of the 1981-82 training year.

As everywhere in our country, the members of the NVA, the border troops and all other protection and security organs in the GDR are struggling to implement the decisions adopted by the Third Central Committee meeting on strict economies and increasing effectiveness in accomplishing tasks. They are devoting all their efforts to achieving the greatest possible increase and improvement of combat strength and combat readiness with the material, technical and financial means available to them. The firm resolve not to burden our country's economy more than necessary, and not only to be a good soldier but also a thrifty and efficient economist at the same time, increasingly determines the thoughts and actions of our military personnel. A broad mass initiative was adopted, for example, in connection with saving gasoline and lubricants, fuel and coal, and in connection with saving electric power and water. Thanks to strict leadership and efficient organization, as well as to consistent use of modern scientific and technical notions, it became possible to go beyond the usual forms of savings, to overcome routine and to introduce basic changes.

An atmosphere of great political activities and resolute struggle for the implementation of party decisions and instructions characterizes party elections within the NVA and among the border guards, as well as among the other GDR protection and security organs. The ideological and organizational unity and cohesion of the party collectives has been further intensified.

## To Win Young People For a Military Career!

In implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress and of the Third Central Committee meeting, we succeeded in transforming the efforts to win young people for a military career into a nationwide social cause. Relying upon the strength of the party and the FDJ organizations, outstanding work is being accomplished in enterprises and schools in order to encourage them in the decision to embark on this career, and in order to prepare them for this future work involving great responsibility. The military service law demands that we persist in these efforts, as well as further intensify them. It remains one of the militant tasks of party organizations in all spheres to see to it that in the selection, encouragement, confirmation and preparation for this service the principle of reliability and qualification of the candidates for a military career should be applied and constantly observed, and that an unmistakable and solid ideological class position as well as active political work should be the criteria applied to the selection of suitable candidates for a military career. In order to make sure that the decision to embark on a military career, which is highly appreciated by our society, is supported by the necessary professional competence, we expect our comrades serving in the NVA, in border guard troops and in the other GDR protection and security organs to make even greater efforts than before in presenting to our young people a realistic picture of the tasks and duties facing them during military service and in a military career.

The party's particular attention must continue to be focused upon the further, comprehensive development of cadres in the NVA, in the border guards, in the other GDR protection and security organs, as well as in the GDR civil defense organs. This attention must also be applied to a qualitatively new coordination of science and military affairs. It is important that the party's science and higher educational policy be applied to the military sector also so as to implement this policy on a long-term basis to the greatest advantage of improving combat strength and combat readiness. The military higher educational institutions are assigned the task of training officers who will distinguish themselves both by their communist education and by their military competence, as well as to assert themselves as centers of military theoretical work.

Everything that is being accomplished today, and will be accomplished in future in the educational and training sectors, in post-graduate education, as well as in the further development of scientific and research work in the military higher educational institutions, is of great and extensive importance for the future activities of the NVA, the border guards and other GDR protection and security organs, so that they may continue to efficiently transform their expanding tasks in protecting our socialist achievements.

Our army personnel have once again proved this winter that we can always rely on our people's soldiers--in the daily struggle for improving combat strength and combat readiness, as well as in emergency cases of struggle against the forces of nature.

The soldiers are actively supporting the selfless efforts of the miners in the brown coal mines in providing reliable supplies of energy and fuel under difficult climatic conditions. With a lofty sense of responsibility, with selfless

deeds and soldierly skill, they worked side by side with the water economy forces and with civil defense members in protecting numerous citizens and important economic enterprises against the danger caused by the icy floods of the Oder River.

The SED Central Committee expresses its gratitude to all those who helped to avert the danger of the floods.

The appeal of the 10th SED Congress to young people, calling on them to adopt a communist concept of the purpose of life, found wide response. Thus, the "FDJ assignment 10th Party Congress" which was adopted by the 11th parliament, became a mass movement of youth in our country.

#### Ardent Youth Protest the Brussels Missile Decision

Following a positive FDJ tradition, over 4 million FDJ members and members of the "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneers organization, as well as young people of all strata, and other citizens demonstrated in favor of the peace policy conducted by the USSR, the GDR and the other socialist states, during the pentecost meeting and the "days of friendship between GDR and CSSR youths." At 3,000 meetings, among which 170 mass rallies took place, the young people demanded the abolition of the Brussels NATO missile decision with eloquent insistence and passionate dedication. These rallies confirmed at the same time the revolutionary unity and unanimity of all generations in our country. On these occasions the young people wholeheartedly expressed their approval of the SED policy which is entirely aimed at the people's well-being and peace, the young people also confirmed their readiness to do everything within their power for the economic consolidation of the GDR and for the defense of socialism. The SED Central Committee [words indistinct] and expressed its gratitude for the work accomplished.

In political discussions with young people on our country's domestic and foreign policy, as well as on the present international situation, it appears that the manner in which we succeed to stimulate our young people's thoughts and feelings in coping with objective demands of our time, is of great importance for the promotion of the young people's will and readiness to become involved in all kinds of achievements. Young people have the wish to assert themselves and to prove their value. They also wish to discuss complicated problems. Therefore it is correct to instruct them, from a party point of view, on the tasks they are facing in connection with the further development of a developed socialist society, and to explain to them why socialism and peace are indissolubly linked to each other.

During the period under review the FDJ published a book entitled: "The History of the FDJ." Comrade Erich Honecker received a delegation of the FDJ Central Council on this occasion. He pointed out in this connection that the "FDJ History" that has now been published is of great importance for the communist education of youths. We are convinced that acquaintance with the history of the FDJ will give new impetus to the new FDJ generation for new achievements and for a further development of our socialist revolution.

With great joy we have ascertained that many youth brigades have revised their goals, following the Leipzig seminar of the SED Central Committee, in order to overfulfill the tasks of the 1982 national economic plan by at least two daily production rates, and to contribute to the return of funds to the state. At the same time, the performance comparison of youth brigades under the slogan: "Everyone must achieve good results every day" has proved successful. It is also necessary for all state leading organs to support the initiative of the FDJ and the "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneers organization for additional collection of secondary raw materials.

#### FDJ Members Face New Tasks on the Natural Gas Pipeline

An increasing number of combines and enterprises have found out that young people are capable of great achievements when they are involved in responsible tasks, such as those assigned by the masters of tomorrow movement in innovation work and on youth projects for the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. At this year's fairs of the masters of tomorrow held in enterprises and Kreis, young innovators are showing numerous interesting achievements. For this reason it is less understandable that in certain combines the achievements and capacities of the young workers, engineers and scientists are not sufficiently used.

The Politburo agreed with the proposal of the FDJ Central Council to transfer the project for the construction of the natural gas pipeline section from the Soviet Union, which has been assigned to our country, to the FDJ as a further major central youth project. In the meantime, the first FDJ delegates have started work in the Soviet Union. We are convinced that the members of the socialist youth organization will worthily distinguish themselves in the construction of the new natural gas pipeline and in the struggle for high effectiveness and great quality. We are also convinced that they will contribute through their excellent work to the intensification of relations of friendship with Lenin's native country and with the Leninist Komsomol. FDJ members have accomplished great achievements in the Berlin FDJ initiative, as well as in the construction of natural gas pipelines within the country.

#### Youth Law is Being Successfully Implemented

Youths in the rural areas and in agriculture are proving by their deeds that they have responded to the challenge for great achievements and creative work, and that they are ready to contribute to implementing the tasks set by the 12th peasants congress. An increasing number of youths are participating in tasks connected with scientific and technical plans, are establishing youth brigades and are setting up youth complexes for the harvest. They are improving fodder economy and are rationalizing the already existing stables. They are building their own rationalization projects, are taking over care for the technical equipment and are assisting in improving working and living conditions in the rural areas.

We support the efforts of the FDJ and the "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneers organization to involve more young people in agricultural professions.

During the week devoted to youths and sports which took place in May 1982, good results were achieved in implementing the youth law and in fulfilling the tasks assigned by the plans on the promotion of youth. Valuable successes were achieved wherever there was a unity and coordination of great achievements in the sphere of professional work, studies and school work with a high standard of recreational activities for young people.

In this connection, precisely the preparations for the FDJ cultural conference will provide further incentives. It is useful for the cause when the state organs assist the FDGB, the GDR German gymnastics and sports federation, the society for sport and technology, the cultural league and the artists associations, as well as other social forces likely to render comradely support to the FDJ during the preparations for these major cultural political events.

Our young pioneers have achieved good results in implementing their assignment under the slogan: "Pioneers' expedition--always ready!" Those who have most distinguished themselves in this initiative were awarded travel vouchers to the seventh pioneers rally in Dresden. Preparations for this great social event have introduced even greater variety and meaning into pioneer freindships and pioneer groups. The young pioneers are participating with great interest in initiatives for developing their native towns and villages, and for promoting enterprises which have assumed patronage over them. Teachers and educators, veteran workers, propagandists and representatives of patronage brigades, as well as representatives of the armed forces, are discussing topical political issues with them and are helping them to become aware of the development of socialism in the GDR and to follow all events with understanding. The SED party leaderships are also comprehensively supporting such efforts.

Our party can ascertain with satisfaction that the fraternal relations existing between the FDJ and the Leninist Komsomol are steadily being intensified. This was convincingly demonstrated at the 19th Komsomol Congress.

#### Important Women's Contribution to the Consolidation of the GDR

Under the slogan "women's awareness and contribution to socialism and peace, for the benefit of children and for the people's well-being" the Democratic Women's League [DFD] held elections for leading bodies in the groups, in the Kreise and Bezirke, which lasted until February 1982. During these elections the members of these women's organizations forcefully proved how actively they are participating in the consolidation of our republic, in the preservation of peace, as well as in the accomplishment of multifarious social tasks.

The DFD has succeeded in involving more women from different strata of the population and of different ideological views in the social life of their areas of residence. Since the 10th DFD Congress over 358,000 new members, 80 percent of whom have no party affiliation, have been recruited for the DFD. Of the approximately 141,000 executive board members, 57.6 percent are not affiliated to any party.

The 11th DFD Federal Congress represented a true climax in the life of the DFD. In an atmosphere of political openmindedness, the delegates expressed their readiness to contribute all their efforts consolidating our workers and peasants state.

They expressed the will not to spare any effort in the struggle for the preservation of peace, and to participate in civil defense as well as to actively support their husbands and sons in performing their duties for the protection of the socialist motherland.

Being fully confident in our party's policy, GDR women are ready to improve even more their increased knowledge and talents for the implementation of the main task coordinating economic and social policy.

The Politburo considers that the active support for the DFD leaderships by Bezirk and Kreis leaderships, as well as by the housing block party organizations, has been worthwhile and will be useful in future. We are expecting our party leaderships to actively support the women's organization in its purposeful implementation of the decisions adopted by the 11th Federal Congress.

#### Wide Scope for Citizens' Industriousness

An extended session of the national front national council was held in January 1982, and launched the citizens initiative under the slogan: "Let us beautify our cities and communities--join in!" This is an action program for the period up to 1985. The hitherto obtained results in this competition show that individual initiatives of the citizens for the maintenance and repair of houses and apartments, the numerous initiatives for improving the housing environment, for guaranteeing security and order, for uncovering material reserves, as well as for utilizing kitchen and food remains, are now producing greater results than during the same period of 1981.

Many citizens from rural areas have assisted the agricultural production cooperatives in planting and cultivating crops, and have greatly contributed to the food supply of the population by efficiently using their own private gardens and plots.

At present some 350,000 members are working in the 17,826 national front committees, including 156,700 communists, 75,000 members of friendly parties, and 118,000 citizens affiliated with no party. Thus the national front has reached its highest organization level to date. Its cooperation with the people's representations and the deputies as well as with the enterprises and social institutions in the field has further improved. The political talk in the house and street communities about questions of peace and of social progress, which occupy the minds of people, has promoted the citizens' initiative for the universal strengthening of the GDR. Their active participation in the intellectual-cultural life and in sports in their housing areas has increased.

Despite all this progress our friends in the national council of the national front of the GDR are not overlooking the still existing unjustified differences

in the level of political work among the masses, differences which frequently exist between neighboring Kreise, cities and local communities. They are orienting toward making the experiences of the best the general standard. The members and candidate members of our party will continue to actively participate in the work of the national front committees so as to help implement our party's policy for the good of the people in all sectors of society. It is the duty of every communist to live up to his responsibility in his housing area and housing community in an exemplary manner, and tactfully and sympathetically to attend to the worries and problems of the citizens.

#### Our Alliance is Proving Its Worth in Word and Deed

In implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Party Congress the comradely cooperation of the parties and mass organizations united in the democratic bloc has experienced a new upswing. With the democratic peasant party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and the National-Democratic Party of Germany, we have creatively acting alliance partners at our side who in word and deed are making a substantial contribution of their own toward universally strengthening the GDR.

The strong vitality and refulgence of the Marxist-Leninist policy of alliance of our party again found a visible expression in the past few months in the preparation for and implementation of the party congress of the friendly parties--the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, the National-Democratic Party of Germany and the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany. These party congresses demonstrated the strength of our alliance and the high level of our comradely cooperation. All friendly parties are acting in accordance with the decisions of the 10th SED Congress because they are in line with the interests of the entire people.

Jointly we will march further forward and deepen our alliance. Our socialist state needs the creative cooperation of everyone, and will promote every initiative designed to strengthen it.

By consistently continuing the policy close to the people, by persistently supporting the cause of peace, and equipped with the economic strategy of the 10th Party Congress, our party has made its ties with the masses stronger than ever before, and in coping with future tasks it can more and more comprehensively rely on the grown socialist awareness, the higher educational level and the great readiness for achievement of the workers class and all other working people.

In the political leadership activity of the party organizations the ability has grown for better and better utilizing the advantages of the socialist social system for achieving a high performance growth rate and for showing ways to solve problems and tasks that have become ripe for solutions.

In the Bezirk and Kreis leadership meetings for evaluating the Third Central Committee meeting, firm militant positions were adopted. With the militant programs which were adopted at the member meetings for evaluating the Third Central Committee meeting, the basic organizations have effective guiding

instruments for successfully organizing the political struggle for safeguarding peace and for a high performance increase in the national economy in 1982.

#### Great Tasks of Ideological Work in Every Basic Organization

When dealing with domestic and foreign policy tasks the Politburo and the secretariat have always concerned themselves with the resulting requirements for ideological work.

Today more than ever it is the task of our party to deepen the understanding of our country's citizens for the fact that the safeguarding of peace depends primarily on the political, economic and military strength of socialism, that socialism is always as powerful as we make it by our actions. We must unmask the class nature of the war and boycott policy of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies, demonstrate the dialectics of the class war and the transition of the peoples from capitalism to socialism with the aid of the daily events in international politics, and give a resolute rebuff to the anticommunist, anti-Soviet lie about an alleged threat. For revealing the secret of how wars are made, the Leninist imperialism-theory is today as topical as ever.

The time since our third meeting has again confirmed the experience that conscious creativeness is a socialist class attitude resulting from conviction. The more frankly the high demands of the time in which we live are discussed with the working people, the more consciously and responsibly will they struggle with the whole weight of their personality to achieve the required high performances.

Of basic importance for our party's ideological activity is the preparation and celebration of the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the creation of the USSR. These events will be observed by us as holidays and days of struggle by the international workers class and by all progressive people in the world. In conformity with the decision of the secretariat of 26 May 1982, we will celebrate this jubilee by doing all we can to strengthen the GDR as an indivisible part and parcel of the socialist community and to consolidate friendship and further deepen co-operation with the Soviet Union

World historic developments since the days of the Great October, the historic victories and achievements of the Soviet people, the Soviet Union's tireless efforts toward preserving and ensuring world peace and toward active solidarity with and support for all peoples struggling for national and social freedom, they all clearly refute the malevolent and slanderous attacks on the country and party of Lenin, no matter who has launched them.

#### Once Again Hundreds of Thousands are Studying in Party Schools

In the timespan covered by this report, the activity by central education establishments, by Bezirk party schools, by Kreis and enterprise schools of Marxism-Leninism and by circles and seminars of the party schoolyear was carried out fully in the sign of an intensive acquisition and promotion of the theoretical and political contents of the 10th Party Congress decisions and in the sign of the speeches by the SED Central Committee general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, at the Third Central Committee meeting and to the Kreis first secretaries.

In the timespan covered by this report, once again the party schools of Bezirk and Kreis leaderships proved in their activity of strengthening the fighting strength of the party organizations and of spreading the Marxist-Leninist theory as establishments for generally applying the best experience of party work. During the now ending schoolyear, almost 100,000 comrades, including a great number of leading members of basic organizations, had the opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the 10th Party Congress decisions, their political and theoretical basis and with the tasks aimed at implementing those decisions under the current complicated international circumstances.

In keeping with the Central Committee secretariat decisions, a number of courses, discussions and seminars for cadre training were held in the ideological field, especially for secretaries in charge of agitation and propaganda in Bezirk and Kreis leaderships, as well as for leading cadres in party schools.

In the 1981-82 party schoolyear the 10 subjects, decided on by the Politburo, regarding the domestic and foreign policy of the 10th Party Congress were discussed. That schoolyear proved to be a great contribution to a thorough acquaintance with the ideas of the party congress and as a broad and creative exchange of opinion on the purposeful implementation of its decisions.

#### Let Us Constantly Draw on the Classics

The ideological education and instruction of party members, the creative study of the works of Marx and Engels and Lenin and the party decisions are and will continue to be of decisive importance for our party's uniform ideological activity and for the daily political dialogue with the working people and for further strengthening the unity among the masses.

In January 1982 the Central Committee secretariat decided on the subject plan for circles and seminars of the 1982-83 party schoolyear and in May on the 1982-83 subject plan for lectures and seminars for leading cadres and party secretaries on basic theoretical issues of party policy in Bezirk and Kreis leaderships.

In keeping with a Central Committee secretariat decision, the first secretaries of Bezirk and Kreis leaderships will open the 1982-83 party schoolyear in September with party Aktiv meetings in Bezirk and Kreis party organizations on such subjects as:

"The ideological-political tasks for further implementing the 10th Party Congress economic strategy." We will abide by the proven principle of constantly consulting the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of studying their teachings and of creatively applying them. In this spirit, the first meeting in all circles and seminars of the 1982-83 party schoolyear will discuss the subject: "Karl Marx--the ingenious founder of the scientific philosophy of life of the workers class. The topicality and vitality of Marxism-Leninism in our times."

This will be the beginning of a comprehensive pursuit of the immortal teachings of Karl Marx in preparation of his 100th death commemoration and his 165th birthday in 1983.

## **We Honor Marx With Good Deeds**

We honor Marx with our action of implementing the 10th Party Congress policy. We honor Marx with our long-term ideological-theoretical projects aimed at spreading the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism among the masses to strengthen the working people's socialist class awareness, to promote their involvement in multilaterally strengthening the GDR and to offensively come to grips with the outward forms of imperialist and bourgeois ideology.

From these tasks there also always result constantly higher demands on our mass media. The ninth congress of the GDR Association of Journalists in June of this year became a fruitful exchange of experience of our country's journalists about their responsibility for the universal strengthening of the GDR.

It was again confirmed that the GDR journalists are militantly struggling for the interests of our worker-peasant power, and that the press, radio and television are reliable instruments of our socialist state and powerful weapons in the struggle for peace and in the struggle against imperialism.

Dear comrades, in accordance with the decision of the Third SED Central Committee meeting the accountability meetings and new elections of party group organizers and their deputies, the leaderships and department party organizations as well as the leaderships of basic organizations which are not subdivided into department party organizations were held in the period 1 March to 17 April 1982.

On 20 April of this year the Politburo dealt with the results of the party elections. It noted that the party elections impressively reflected the firm unity and cohesion of the party, the unshakeable confidence of the comrades in the Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker.

## **Economic Strategy Became Main Arena of Party Work**

In the 91,990 party groups, 24,537 department party organizations and the 53,071 basic organizations the hitherto achieved results in implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress were assessed in an open-minded, business-like and militant atmosphere; further tasks were adopted for increasing the militant strength of the party, for raising the level of political work among the masses, for strengthening the socialist state power and for ensuring a high increase in economic performance; and the leaderships were newly elected.

The high turnout, which amounted to 92 percent in the party groups and 92.7 percent in the department party organizations and basic organizations, is an expression of the close affinity of the comrades with the party.

The creative, constructive discussion in the course of the party elections', during which nearly 1.3 million comrades took the floor, as well as the more than 250,000 proposals, suggestions and critical remarks that were submitted give evidence of the grown sense of responsibility of the party members for the implementation of the party congress decisions.

In evaluating the party elections in the basic organizations, the Politburo of the SED Central Committee draws attention to the following main results:

It is a primary result of these party elections that our party has been further strengthened, that it is firmly anchored in all spheres of society and that it has gained additional militant experiences for solving the tasks that are ahead. The role of the basic organizations in implementing the overall policy of the party has further increased.

The accountability election meetings were eloquent proof of the fact that the implementation of our party's economic strategy has become the main arena of the entire party work.

With the strength of the party and work collectives, the party elections have created decisive ideological prerequisites for implementing the high pledges made in the letter of the participants of the Leipzig seminar to Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary.

At the accountability election meetings and the members meetings for evaluating the Leipzig seminar, the basic organizations discussed further conclusions for their own party work. On the basis of the militant programs more than 700,000 party assignments were issued which essentially contain political tasks for implementing the party's economic strategy.

Hundreds of thousands of party members performed active ideopolitical work in preparing for and implementing the elections in the mass organizations, and thus essentially contributed toward ensuring that our party's policy was convincingly explained among all classes and strata of our people.

To the leading party organs in the Beirke, Kreise and basic organizations it is recommended that this extensive work of the past few months be thoroughly evaluated and that everything that is useful for offensive and differentiated political work among the masses be made permanent.

#### Personal Conversations Stimulated Activity

The personal conversations held with 700,000 comrades in preparation for the party elections about their contribution toward implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress have noticeably stimulated the political activity of communists, and have more and more become a general necessity for the members and candidate members of the party.

Such vivid individual work should be a constituent part of the leadership activity of all party leadership, so as to even better mobilize the forces of the party collectives for the tasks to be resolved.

As a result of the party elections, our party can rely on a large, politically invigorated Aktiv of elected cadres in the basic organizations. Some 380,813 leadership members, including 77,608 party secretaries, were elected into the party leaderships. They are comrades who have a close trustful relationship with the working people, who are distinguished by unshakeable loyalty to our Marxist-Leninist Party and who have already stood many tests.

The share of the workers in the party leaderships has gone up to 51.6 percent and is a vivid expression of our party's firm anchoring in the workers class and in the working people; 5.4 percent of the newly elected party leadership members are cooperative peasants and 29.6 percent are members of the intelligentsia.

It is the task of the Kreis leaderships to familiarize the newly elected leaderships, especially the comrades who were elected for the first time, without delay and practice-related with the best leadership and work experiences.

The results of the party elections assessed by the Politburo are conspicuously reflected in the Pirna SED Kreis leadership's report to the Central Committee secretariat: "About the evaluation of the conference of the Central Committee secretariat with the first secretaries of Kreis leaderships, and about experiences and results of the elections in the SED basic organizations." In the SED Central Committee secretariat's comment on the Pirna Kreis leadership's report it is stressed that the further raising of the quality level of political leadership activity of the Kreis leadership, its collective forward-pushing working style, and its direct aid to the basic organizations will essentially determine the militant positions of communists and the contribution of all working people for strengthening worker-peasant power.

The report by the Pirna Kreis leadership as well as the party elections in general clearly show that the purposeful setting of examples of leadership, and the organization of performance comparisons are decisive leadership methods in the work of the leading party organs and the basic organizations.

The thorough study of the best experiences, performance comparisons and leadership examples should be specifically organized and combined with rigid party control. Only in this manner can nonutilized economic potentials be developed, new motivational forces released and existing differences in performance more quickly overcome.

#### Much Depends on the Proper Use of Cadres

For implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress, much depends on the proper use and qualification of the cadres. The Politburo and the Central Committee secretariat have dealt several times since the third meeting with questions of developing and raising the quality of cadres. Thus, the secretariat has received a report by the minister of construction on experiences in the work with foremen and project managers of the construction combines in implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress. In this report the high responsibility of these cadres as leaders of collectives, which are most closely linked with material production, was emphasized.

Good headway in selection, development, quality improvement and distribution of medium level leadership cadres is made by those combines and enterprises which make exact stipulations in cadre programs and constantly control the implementation of the stipulated measures.

On 13 May 1982 the SED Central Committee secretariat endorsed the cadre reserve of the SED Central Committee secretariat for the period 1982-1986. In working with the cadre reserve at all levels it is necessary to develop everywhere cadres according to plan which will cope with the requirements of the 1980's, as well as to ensure the cadre-political structure of the leading organs through careful selection, qualification and placement. This requires the long-term training of cadres which, class-minded and with great engagement, can take over responsible functions.

Further progress has been achieved in the Marxist-Leninist basic and advanced training of the leadership cadres, which has resulted in the high-quality leadership activity of the leaderships.

#### Some 2.2 Million Members and Candidate Members of the SED

The SED Central Committee secretariat dealt with the analysis of the SED members movement in 1981.

The SED has 2,202,277 members and candidate members. In the year of the 10th Party Congress the basic organizations accepted 92,941 comrades as candidate members of the party.

The quality of the social structure of our party was further improved in 1981: 57.7 percent of the members and candidate members are workers. Owing to the admission of 59,294 production workers their share in our Marxist-Leninist party is now 37.5 percent. In the agriculture and forestry sector 1,534 comrades more than last year were accepted in our ranks. The number of members of the intelligentsia in the party increased by 14,543 members and candidate members, that is by 22.3 percent, with the strongest increase in the sectors concerned with preparations for production.

The share of female comrades in our party has further increased; it is now 34 percent. Progress has been made in strengthening the influence of the party in the youth brigades by accepting 12,296 brigade members into the ranks of the party.

Dear comrades, in the period under review which was full of important societal high points in the life of our socialist fatherland, our party was able to gather rich militant experiences.

Since the last meeting of the Central Committee our party and the GDR people have done a great deal of work toward implementing the decisions of the 10th Party Congress. We are aware of the fact that in the future the solving of domestic and foreign policy tasks will make even higher demands on us. We are facing these demands with optimism and confidence, because we are relying on the great strength of the millions of communists and the firm confidence of the people in our party.

## Kessler Address

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Jun 82 p 3

[Excerpts from discussion statement of Col Gen Heinz Kessler, SED Central Committee member, deputy minister for national defense; chief, Political Main Administration, National People's Army (NVA); presented at Fourth SED Central Committee Plenum, East Berlin, 24 Jun 82]

[Text] Dear Comrades! The results of the political education and combat training which have been praised in the Politburo report which I fully approve and the military-economic results of the NVA and the GDR border troops in the period since the third meeting of the Central Committee are an indispensable element of the outstanding achievements of our entire people for further universally strengthening our socialist state.

They demonstrate anew that the socialist armed forces, with their firm affinity with the workers class and all working people from whose ranks they are formed and whose work creates all prerequisites to equip and arm them in accordance with modern conditions, have an inexhaustible source of growing fighting strength and combat readiness.

Proceeding from the decisions of the third meeting of the Central Committee and equipped with the fundamental orientation given by Comrade Erich Honecker, our party's Central Committee general secretary, at the meeting with the Kreis first secretaries, the army members and border soldiers have developed exemplary initiatives in socialist competition in order to solve the tasks set by the minister of national defense in his basic orders for the 1981/82 training year.

Their achievements in mastering socialist military tasks, the development of every unit and unit group, even the result of every training hour confirm: successes are achieved where the party leads, where the communists have the confidence of nonparty members and lead them in the struggle for military mastery.

To implant this idea even deeper into the hearts of the members and the candidates and to enable the party collectives even better to meet their responsibility under the conditions of the 1980's was the aim of a meeting of the political main administration with secretaries of basic organizations from all force components of the NVA, border troops and the civil defense of the GDR, as a start for the 1982 party elections.

### Party Elections Gave Valuable Impulses

Today we can evaluate that also in our field, as everywhere in our republic, decisive stimuli have emanated from party elections. The basic organizations have consolidated and strengthened politically, ideologically and organizationally in the course of the accountability reports and the elections of the new leaderships. Through the conscious exemplary action of communists they are implementing more and more successfully the leading role of the SED and the NVA and in the border troops of our republic. Here they are guided by the principle

that ideological work has been and will remain the core of party work. In accordance with this, the directive of the minister of national defense on political work in the NVA, which went into force 1 December, stipulates that by convincingly imparting Marxism-Leninism and developing their political-moral and psychological characteristics the army members have to be educated to be passionate strugglers for the ideals of the workers class who are sure of victory and have to exert all their strength to conscientiously fulfill their military commitments.

The communists in the troops and the navy as well as in the leadership organs of the NVA and the GDR border troops are purposefully and untiringly devoted to this task by word and deed. They are doing this in view of the increased peace-endangering machinations of the most aggressive forces of NATO, particularly the United States, which in contrast to all human reason continue to pursue their course of confrontation and to expend billions and billions in mad delusion to militarily overtake the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries. As a justification they use the lie of the threat from the east which has been disproved by life a thousand times but has been polished up and modified again and again. But more and more people on all continents understand: socialism and peace are one. The main thing is to preserve peace against those who through demagogic slogans want to induce us to take weapons out of our hands but who at the same time reach for ever new and more threatening means of mass destruction and who already coolly include the nuclear devastation of Europe in their calculations. Therefore, from the view of historic responsibility being at the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, we must make our contribution toward preventing imperialism from ever again achieving military superiority over socialism.

#### Armed Forces Always Fulfill Their Assignment

Combat training is the main field of military activity of commanders, staffs and political organs, all of whom are communists in the NVA. Its level has a decisive influence on the combat readiness of our armed forces. We can report to the Central Committee of our party:

In the first half of the 1981/82 training year all force components of the NVA, the border troops and the civil defense of the GDR have fulfilled the training tasks which have been ordered. A noticeable performance increase was achieved in important fields of political, operative and combat training. In the NVA this is reflected in the reliable fulfillment of the obligations which emanate from the duty system and combat service.

In the ground forces all units and groups of units can be evaluated in the final reviews as "combat ready." For launchings of antiaircraft missiles under combat conditions the mark "very good" was achieved.

In the groups of units and units of the air forces/air defense the high quality of the action of pilots, the stable achievements of radio troops as well as of antiaircraft missile troops and all protection forces must be stressed.

In the first half of the training year the members of the navy can refer to excellent results in tactical sea training. Numerous military norms were exceeded.

Among the GDR border troops, good training results contributed toward guaranteeing the secure protection of the state border of our republic.

#### FDJ Unconditionally in the Service for Peace and Socialism

In implementing the principle of the youth policy of our party having confidence in youth and conferring responsibility on it the fighting strength of the FDJ organizations as helpers and as the fighting reserve of the party was further strengthened. The outstanding share of the FDJ in the successes of the first half of the 1981-82 training year must be evaluated as a thousandfold promise that the members of the socialist youth organization in the NVA and the border troops of the GDR under the leadership of the party of the workers class will also in the future spare no efforts and unconditionally put all their strength, their youthful elan and their knowledge and skill into the service of defending socialism and peace.

The growing level of combat training confirms the correctness of the path taken on the basis of the 10th SED Congress to pursue the following key points in the development of our armed forces in the 1980's even more consistently and purposefully:

--To further improve the single command as an inseparable unity of political and military leadership, the union of the command with the development of the activity and creative initiative as well as the implicit obedience of army members;

--To improve the quality and the effect on the masses of the ideological work and guarantee the always stable political-moral condition of the leadership organs, troops and naval forces;

--To intensify combat training; to effect the qualification of those liable for basic military service and the reservists who have been called up to master the weapons, weapons systems and other technical combat equipment available in the NVA; rapidly master new technical combat equipment, armament and equipment; and

--To further develop and deepen the cooperation with the Soviet army, in particular with the group of Soviet forces in Germany and the Baltic fleet of the USSR, with the Polish army and the Czechoslovak people's army as well as with the other fraternal armies.

#### To Better and Better Master Equipment

Proceeding from the military-strategic situation, the legalities of the socialist military structure and the effects of the scientific-technological revolution on our military system, the essence of the present development processes in the NVA is above all to achieve a considerably higher level in mastering

the full scope of combat-, troop control- and protection-technical equipment with which our troops, the fleet and the leadership organs are quipped.

In this context the qualitatively new link of science and national defense becomes more and more obvious.

In the spirit of the decisions of the 10th Party Congress and the 3d Central Committee meeting, the main thing today more than ever before is to solve the tasks of national defense without curtailing military requirements and with just the material and financial expenditure which is absolutely necessary.

Just as the struggle for effectiveness and quality is being waged in the national economy, we in the armed forces are struggling to intensify military activity, to guarantee an increasingly favorable relationship between expenditure and result everywhere, and to implement a high material economy. The efforts undertaken for this purpose range from the increased use of training devices and simulators instead of fuel-intensive combat equipment in training to the more effective implementation of protection processes. Thus--to mention only a few things--inventory, consumption and utilization norms are being revised and measures for optimization of material stocks are being taken. Improved technology and a higher utilization of our own workshop capacities make possible more repairs, and the growing demand for spare parts is increasingly being satisfied by restoring old parts. Initiatives in socialist competition like the "best movement," "hit with the first shot," "equipment of best quality" and "lowest gasoline consumption per kilometer" contributed toward achieving a good level of training and at the same time toward dealing in an economic way with time, technology, gasoline and other consumption means.

Thus, we continue along the path which has enabled us in the past training year to deduct a high economic advantage. Among other things the consumption of solid fuels, of electrical energy and water has been further decreased. In addition to this, gasoline consumption has been reduced. New inventory, consumption and utilization norms have resulted in further savings.

Of course also in the military-economic field the things which have been achieved are not everything which can be achieved. Important reserves must still be developed. This makes it necessary to even more purposefully and rapidly apply scientific findings, further qualify the leadership activity at all levels and fully use the readiness for performance, the energy and the creative thoughts and actions of all army members, in particular the ideas and proposals of the innovators.

High commitments for communists in the armed forces and the border troops result from this. They are facing complicated tasks and problems which await us, such as the necessity of even more efficiently using fuel in reliably fulfilling tasks in the duty system, in combat and border service, in combat training and in all other fields of military life.

#### A Good Military Member Is At the Same Time a Qualified Economist

It is necessary to better and better study the relationship between military necessities and economic requirements, and as a good socialist military member be a qualified economist at the same time.

In this direction, the purposeful work of commanders, political organs and party organizations becomes visible in the commitments and combat programs of army members, border soldiers and civilian employees in socialist competition in which the aims for increasing fighting strength and combat readiness are linked more strongly than ever before with projects for saving energy resources, material and spare parts and measures for better maintaining equipment as well as for determining secondary raw materials.

The struggle for a more qualified dealing with the equipment, strict order and iron military discipline, including plan and financial discipline, is being waged with increasing consistency.

The education work done in this respect has good results and must be increased further. We are proceeding from the fact that any wasted mark or any mark lost due to damage is a mark too much, because it does not serve the assignment for which the people have made it available to us: the implementation of the class assignment set by the 10th Party Congress!

A few weeks ago we started the second half of the training year. There is still much left to be done to fulfill the tasks for 1982 in accordance with their content and in accordance with the set time.

The increased danger of war does not allow us to rest on successes. Every day of peace must also be fought for by high fighting strength and combat readiness of our armed forces. Of course, this situation puts very high demands above all on our professional officers, ensigns and professional noncommissioned officers, demands they are facing with all their strength as military cadres of the party and our socialist state. Together with the temporary soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers, those liable for basic military service as well as reservists who are in the reserve military service, they are struggling for higher achievements in the service of peace and socialism.

They know that this is highly assessed in our socialist society. And it must be so: The national defense is the work of the workers class and the entire people of the GDR. They have put powerful weapons in our hands. We--the soldiers--justify this confidence by high combat readiness. Our party, its Central Committee with Comrade Erich Honecker at the head, the workers class and our entire people can always rely on us.

CSO: 2300/306

## SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON YOUTH OPINIONS DISCUSSED

AU271044 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 21-23 May 82 p 3

[Commentary by Piotr Aleksandrowicz: "Coming Up With the Right Diagnosis"]

[Excerpts] From the sociological research on young people carried out during the latter half of the 1970's, a picture emerged of a generation tending toward private ownership and particularly interested in material values. However, the accurate diagnosis of the sociologists did not penetrate the reasons behind the social and political passiveness, and these reasons became understood and known only when young people from the "consumer" generation spontaneously and universally joined in or initiated the formation of Solidarity and "independent" organizations.

In the discussion going on at present on the subject of the young generation, the voice of sociologists and scientific bases for the opinions, statements and conclusions put forward by publicists are missing. My quests for the appropriate investigations ended largely in disappointment.

1. I only managed to get hold of two somewhat more comprehensive reports prepared after August 1980. The first of these, by the Institute for Research on Young People, contains the results of a poll held in March and April last year. The second report was drawn up at the Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center attached to the Radio Committee. This report was the result of answers by young people to questions asked during opinion polls held throughout Poland (September 1980 to May 1981). Both reports concentrated mainly on appraising and interpreting the current events. Despite all the imperfections in the investigations, it is worth devoting some space to the results obtained.

First: (this is the poll held by the Institute for Research on Young People). Young people put most of the blame for the 1980-81 crisis on the government, the Political Bureau, the authors of the propaganda of success and on E. Gierek and P. Jaroszewicz personally. The authors of the work, Bozena Czystkowska, Maria Libiszowska and Janusz Gesicki, make the following comment: Our country's political system is regarded as an elitist system, in which it is not the organizations of political life that make the decisions, but only their functionaries, and mainly those of the central level.

Second: The consequence of such a simplified perception as this is the following list of reasons behind the August crisis which young people selected: favoritism, corruption, misuse of one's position, economic disorder and bad work organization. From the possibilities suggested by the authors of the opinion poll, only a small number of young people chose "a false conception of development," "an excessive increase in investment projects" and "mistakes in agricultural policy."

These and other results can be interpreted as follows: Young people do not possess enough sociopolitical knowledge, and they are particularly incapable of making their own deeper interpretation of the phenomena occurring in this sphere of public life. They believe that social processes are being manipulated whichever way one likes. It is the ill will of the decision-makers that counts, not economic conditions, international ties and so on.

Third: The authors of the report based on the results obtained draw attention to the fact that "justice, honesty and truth form in the consciousness of youth the basis of the concept of democracy and are the most important aims of the process of renewal." Therefore, the report is backed almost exclusively on a moral basis.

Fourth: A considerable majority of the young people approached believed that every citizen should join in the process of improving the sociopolitical system. Similar declarations which were made in the 1970's were also recorded; however, they were usually directed "out to space" and had no effect. Last March, 79 percent of the young people said they were ready to undertake activity of their own.

2. Having in mind those results of the investigations which have been implemented, I would like to discuss the statement one frequently comes across that young people were pushed onto the road to "destruction" during the period August 1980-December 1981. (W. Mickiewicz presents this in a particularly interesting article entitled "It Is Obvious and Yet...", which appeared in SZTANDAR MŁODYCH 2-4 April 1982.) The participation of young people in the illegal activity carried on after the introduction of martial law is interpreted in a similar way. Writing about the past 16 months, publicists ignore the fact that in taking part in protest actions, for example, young people were faced with a greater dilemma than "to be solidary or not." After analyzing the situation, they often chose what they were convinced was the lesser evil.

3. The Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center also carried out several opinion polls throughout the country after the introduction of martial law, as if it were the only research center in Poland. In the March poll, 70 percent of the young people who were approached replied "yes" or "I suppose so" to the question of whether introducing martial law was justified. It was stated that the proportion of young people who said martial law was justified is particularly lower in large urban centers and among people who are better educated. However, the lack of a correlation with the ages of the young people who were approached is surprising. In statistical terms, young people aged from 16 to 29 presented views which do not diverge

from the views noted among the population as a whole. This result contradicts the current opinions about the greater political opposition presented by young people.

Nevertheless, important differences were observed in the February 1982 poll. Young people evaluate the social mood and their own prospects more pessimistically than people on the whole. This particularly concerns young people aged 25 to 29. Here, the index of optimism is the lowest.

4. The statement that "there can be no return to the practices of before August 1980" is accepted with great distrust by the young intelligentsia, and not only the technical intelligentsia. There are at least two features which justify this distrust. First, and maybe less important, is the content and shape of the current propaganda. For example, the one-sidedness of the views put forward at discussions on the subject of trade unions is criticized. From the investigations of the Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center, it emerges that trust in the mass media is still low.

The second feature is putting economic reform into practice. In his article "Winning Over Young People" (SZTANDAR MŁODYCH 18 February), R. Naleszkiewicz warns that the economic reform in its present form hits young people the hardest. Yes, this is true. Nevertheless, I believe the stress was placed in the wrong places in this article, for the crucial phrase is "in its present form." A thorough reform would arouse initiative and activity on the part of young people, since the reform's principles would favor knowledge, boldness in making decisions and good, efficient work. These kinds of characteristics are not felt at present.

Young engineers and technicians can understand the necessity for operational programs (but why so many of them?) because of the difficult economic situation. They are also counting on the reintroduction of self-governing bodies. However, they cannot accept many other features--the increase in the number of plenipotentiary offices adopting the function of associations, restricting the independence of enterprises as far as wages and motivational systems are concerned, and maintaining a promotion system differing from what was expected.

And, although they have nothing to lose, they remain in the wings.

One more and more often comes across the statement that was already current in the 1970's: "There is no point in getting involved, since our voice is only heard from time to time and only in social and welfare matters." The conviction is becoming dominant among some of the factory activists of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], to say nothing of rank and file members, that any discussion, conclusion or program put forward at the bottom is not even made use of by the higher authorities in this organization.

The fact that the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] has been reinstated, a positive fact no doubt, also comes across a barrier of distrust,

doubt and apathy. It seems that young people expect something more than just a declaration. However, it would be a mistake for young people's sociopolitical organizations to restrict themselves to social and welfare matters, even though the drastic situation with housing, the danger of unemployment and the very low standard of living experienced by young families are the dominant reasons behind our generation's pessimism.

CSO: 2600/708

## ZSMP OFFICIAL VIEWS MAY YOUTH RIOTS, POSITIVE ACTIONS

AU121852 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 82 p 2

[PAP report: "Without Wrongful Simplifications"]

[Excerpts] It would be wrong to assume that all young Poles are given to raising the temperature of our sociopolitical life, to participating in street fights, riots and brawls and in sowing unrest, as shown by the incidents in the first days of May. Unfortunately, such assumptions have been made here and there. It is certain that our young people are not the inspirers and authors of those incidents.

Today too many people seem to have forgotten that young people were the mainspring of August 1980 and of renewal. This mainspring was all the mightier since it was produced by a very sharp awareness of the shortcomings and acts of negligence which had accumulated over many years and which directly affected the young workers' class and families.

Is it possible in light of the 3 May incidents in a number of our cities to agree with the view that most of our young people took the wrong side and attacked public law and order? Your PAP reporter put that question to Janusz Uziemblo, the press spokesman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP].

The entire young generation was labeled in varying ways in the past, J. Uziemblo said. People have always said that the young generation is a generation of lost opportunities, of "great opportunities," and of young rebels and that young people are nihilistic and unwilling to engage in truly productive work. Today people are saying that the young generation is a "generation of internal emigration," or a generation "that has turned its back on everything," and a generation unwilling to take action to promote society's interests.

I do not have to convince anyone that such sayings are gross simplifications which wrong an enormous part of Polish young people. This is because people forget that it is precisely young people who account for over 50 percent of the employees in our economy. These several millions of young people are trying--in our present difficult situation--not only to make ends meet in their personal affairs, but also to perform reliably at their jobs. After

all, we have achieved small progress in stabilizing our economy, but it is still progress, and it is impossible to conceal the fact that this is also to the credit of young people.

Although it is no longer fashionable and necessary today to sum up and publicize various activities and programmatic measures, which is a good thing, I will allow myself to present just a few examples of our young people's positive activities, of which there are many and which are often inspired by the ZSMP. These activities are no longer large-scale campaigns and comprehensive patronages over entire sectors of our economy, as was the case in the past, because conditions are not conducive to them. These activities are represented by apparently small measures, which we treat with all seriousness all the same because they play a very important educational and civic role and encourage the effective solution of the most burning problems of the individual communities in rural areas, enterprises and schools. This is also signal proof that most young people are transforming their attitudes of "let us have it," "we demand it" and "we are entitled to it"--attitudes that take no account of reality--to active attitudes that take it for granted that it is possible to engage in positive work from scratch alone or with others.

In the past few months over 120 youth housing organizations and cooperatives have been set up countrywide, and first results have been achieved especially in Koszalin, Ciechanow, Kielce, Warsaw and Opole Voivodships. We can also see the useful process of establishing increasing numbers of youth labor cooperatives. However, it is with concern that we continue to note the ability of red tape to hinder such initiatives.

I think that the most valuable feature of the ZSMP's achievements in the past few months is the establishment of the ever more lively and genuine dialogue with extensive groups of young people. We work together and together discuss the most crucial problems--not only social, living and material problems. We also discuss the conditions under which one begins his career as a citizen and we ponder the issues that actually concern all of us. This is the nature of the ideological discussion "What kind of Poland--what kind of union," which is also being joined by increasing numbers of unaffiliated young people. Perhaps it is for this reason that there is an increasing interest in the ZSMP program and in the opportunities to join the ZSMP. This is also closely related to the preparations for the PZPR Central Committee plenum on young people. We should think that--in line with the general social interests and young people's needs--this plenum will be able to clearly and intelligibly define the immediate and remote prospects for the entire young generation as well as its civic rights and duties.

CSO: 2600/704

## SCIENCE MINISTER DISCUSSES HIGHER SCHOOLS LAW

AU121426 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 82 p 3

[Report by Jerzy Godula: "The Law and Higher Schools"--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The text of the law on higher schools, which was passed by the Sejm a few days ago, differs very little from the social draft, Prof Zbigniew Resich said at an 8 May press conference organized by government press spokesman Jerzy Urban.

The chairman [Resich] of the codification commission, which worked intensively from November 1980 to June 1981 in preparing this social draft, asserted, moreover, that the /new law is a definite step forward with respect to the hitherto existing legal state of affairs./ The social draft contained the original classical conception of self-government of higher schools, which has no practical analogue in any country in the world. Due to the attention of the government and Sejm deputies, this model of self-government has been modified to guarantee the state its indispensable influence over cadres, educational programs, school finances, etc.

/The minister of science, higher schools and technology, Dr Benon Miskiewicz, recalled that the government had from the beginning taken the position that the basic draft of the law was the text prepared by the codification commission. The government did not present its own draft, but merely made comments and corrections to the draft prepared by the Resich group. The main line of this draft, i.e., the requirement to develop school self-government, has been preserved./ The changes made have as their goal the assurance of the proper conditions for the functioning of the state within the higher school system.

/The minister was asked many questions by journalists:/

/What is the present situation in higher schools?/ This question can be answered in very general terms, because the situation continues to change from day to day. I am disturbed by the fact, the minister said, that some students and their educators participate in the illegal demonstrations directed against the state. This influences society's views about the academic community and upsets the normal course of work at higher schools.

We have taken many measures to make the academic community realize that such conduct is out of place. We intend to take steps against the persons who violate the rules of martial law and demonstrate their hostile attitude toward the state.

/How do you intend to influence the attitudes of students?/ This is now the top task for the higher school cadre. One is often told that young people are very good people, which is true, but this does not mean that they are fully mature and ready for life. Young people must be made to realize the true role they play in the state.

Up to now the cadre has avoided committing itself to ideological-political training, because the view prevailed that every young man and woman should be responsible alone for developing their attitudes. This is true, but higher schools must supply certain models for contemplation. We must consider in what way--subtly and not administratively--we should influence students' political convictions and attitudes. Personally, I think that the attitudes of university teachers should play the main role in this process. We are faced with a great task of rehabilitating the authority of masters in higher schools because we have lately deviated from the correct comprehension of the role and importance of professors in these schools.

Sociopolitical subjects are an important factor in influencing students' attitudes, and this is why we must raise the standard of these subjects. Students continued to reject them because certain materials were presented in a primitive way.

/Will the scientific cadre be verified?/ We have not planned and do not plan any verification, but we will carry out the traditional review of cadres, which is also known as rotation and which involves evaluating scientific, instructional and educational work. This evaluation will also affect the professors whom we have asked to present their most crucial achievements in the past 2-3 years.

/How does the law treat the issue of student organizations?/ The law guarantees the organizational pluralism of the student movement. The minister registers national organizations and the rector registers school organizations. The appropriate voivodship court dissolves an organization on the motion of the registering body.

/What is the fate of the so-called Lodz Agreements?/ Some of the decisions included in those agreements have been incorporated into the law, some have been implemented or are being implemented, and others have not been implemented because they are in conflict with the lines of the state's development.

/When will the executive regulations concerning this law be issued?/ The Sejm has pledged to issue executive regulations within 6 months from the date on which the law becomes valid, and it will become valid on 1 September. There will be about 40 such regulations.

/These are only examples of the questions asked by the journalists, questions which, as is evident, concerned not only the new law on higher schools, but also general problems of the academic community. SZTANDAR MŁODYCH will return to other questions raised during this very useful conference, which was B. Miskiewicz's first meeting with journalists./

CSO: 2600/706

ARMY POLITICAL BOARD FIGURE INTERVIEWED ON MILITARY EDUCATION

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 10 May 82

[Interview with Col Docent Dr Mieczysław Włodarski, deputy chief of military education affairs of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army, by Ireneusz Czyżewski: "One Privilege"]

[Text] [Question] We are talking during a time in which many young people are deciding of their choice of a future career. Among them are those who will enter the army. Are the military academies suffering a shortage of candidates?

[Answer] No, although every year there is some uncertainty as to whether a sufficient number of them will take the examinations and as to whether they will be good enough and pass the exams. Last year was very characteristic in this respect. There was nervousness, the year was full of conflicts, and the authorities were brought into question, but the available places were nonetheless filled.

[Question] It is easy to accept even the worst ones. Have those given student identity cards proved disappointing?

[Answer] We have not noted, as the professional jargon puts it, any decline in student capacity. Although a certain proportion of the people leave. This is always true. It is a natural phenomenon in any group. In this concrete instance, the ones to leave are those who cannot match the requirements of the military academy. After all, the requirements are higher than anywhere else.

[Question] In what way?

[Answer] In that not only grades are important. Please remember that we are giving professional training to officers, and therefore alongside the purely specialized subjects, each of the academy students also acquires military information, which is no less comprehensive. In addition, he is subject to military rigors, and there are a lot of duties and responsibilities attached to that fact. It is understandable that not all of them can meet the requirements.

[Question] What will it be like this year. It is true that today the army is on everyone's lips. Its peace-keeping functions can impress people. That is one side. On the other hand, the martial law situation has brought the army to light a little. It has become more accessible. People have had a chance therefore to see and assess more easily what that sort of service is like, if only in terms of difficulties and responsibilities.

[Answer] If we were to accept the assumption that we attract people by hiding the inconveniences or difficulties of the profession, then such a public display would indeed be awkward for us, but please note that we have never done this. After all, we invite young people to the schools and the academies, to the training grounds, to see the army from all sides. Nor do we prohibit people from writing about the fact, for example, that in the army there is not 8 hours of work but as much as is needed, that sometimes you have to be away from home and family, that there is also night duty, and so on, that overall the army gives just one privilege, satisfaction from a job well done.

[Question] But there is also another current of interest in the army, one which is particularly obvious since martial law was declared. There in speaking of the army one uses descriptions which are not always possible in public references. In addition, it is assessed that young people today are disoriented, that it does not recognize authority, and that it is generally unenthusiastic.

[Answer] Without going into the correctness of the latter assessment, I must admit that recently we have indeed been encountering attempts to devalue army service and the army in general. We are watching them carefully, but it is difficult to expect these actions clearly to reveal negative results right in the area of military training. Besides, I think that this year will be similar to others. Some academies will have many candidates, and others fewer.

[Question] Which ones are the most popular?

[Answer] The military academies: Military Technical Academy (WAT), Military Medical Academy (WAM), and Higher Naval School (WSMW), of course. They are famous for a high level of teaching, for scientific achievements, and so on.

[Question] Does that mean that the level is lower in the other institutions of learning?

[Answer] To use just that phrase does not give us a correct picture, because we are dealing here with a very similar system as in the case of civilian institutions of higher education. After all, there are famous polytechnic schools and academies with leading scientists, but there are also the smaller institutions, like the Higher Schools of Engineering (WSI), and some specialize in certain areas. Therefore, we have WAT, but it is not difficult to find a school like the Higher Antiaircraft Defense Offi-

certs' School (WSOWOPlot) in Koszalin, which is at the forefront, for example in an area like the practical use of rocket systems.

[Question] But you cannot receive a master's degree in engineering in Koszalin, only in Warsaw.

[Answer] Because Koszalin has a completely different training profile. It is different from the WAT in that it is more practical. Otherwise, we would not set up comparable courses for those graduates of the officers' schools who want to continue their studies at WAT.

[Question] Are these differences visible also in the number of the people applying to take the examinations?

[Answer] There are officers' schools like the automotive school in Pila and the aeronautical school in Deblin, where the competition is quite stiff. But there are others, for example, like the Higher Rocket Forces and Artillery Officers' School (WOSWR1A), for which we are seeing the interest to be less. The problem, however, relates to something completely different, because what if, for example, the school in Deblin has two or three people for a single place, since the health of the candidates for service in the air is not the best, and the medical commissions reject many of the applicants. On the other hand, things are altogether different in the case of the Higher Mechanized Forces Officers' School (WSOVZmech) in Wroclaw. There again we can accept people with the not so common leadership skills useful as organizers, people who are capable of making rapid decisions. It is here that the psychophysical criteria are the strictest, and many people cannot meet them.

[Question] But this is not too obvious from the name of the institutions.

[Answer] Your comment is correct, in more instances than this, because today what can you associate military communications with: looking at a film with a telephone with a winch. The same is true of artillery with popular guns. In all, the names have been outgrown, and they do not always portray reality. The army and engineering have gone to the fore, and today at the Higher Officers' Radio Technology School (WOSRt) in Jelenia Gora they are using the newest technology and electronic engineering, with all the sensitive equipment which penetrates outer space. Similarly, in the artillery schools, where the rocketry systems after all are the quintessence of everything which the world has dreamed up today, the situation is the same, but engineering itself, on the other hand, has no cause for excitement, because the most important thing for us is to have a good level of familiarity, to make good use, to repair, and to improve, and in order to be able to do this, it is necessary to go through all the areas of knowledge which are considered avant garde: electronics, automation, cybernetics, and so on. This is what absorbs the students in our institutions of higher education.

[Question] Are they impressed by this? After all, they can get this in a civilian institution.

[Answer] It would be best, if we did not have to impress people, because the thing that counts with us first of all is the motivation factor. A person whose cybernetics is dazzling does not always work out as a leader. He can also not feel good in a uniform, for example, or perhaps he does not get along with people. Therefore, he must be convinced that the military is right for him, understand its essence and requirements. In Poland there are whole regions and groups, the rural areas, for example, where the motivations to a military career are very strong, passed on from one generation to the next. Therefore the most valuable people come to us from there. But we do not close the way to anyone. Anyone can give it a try.

[Question] Let us explain the equivocal nature of the engineer-officer, because it has been creating a good deal of misunderstanding. A young person who goes to the officers' school compares himself to his colleague, a civilian college student. Who will he turn out to be, an engineer or a leader of men?

[Answer] The title corresponds to reality. And this is the reason we do not say to anyone: You will be an engineer who resolves technical problems in a design office. Instead we tell him: You will be a leader. Not because we have dreamed it up this way but because that is the way it is in the army. The officer directs people. He has equipment at his disposal. He is responsible for all that, morally and materially. But in order for him to be able to do that well in a very technically-oriented army, he must also have specialized preparation. That is the reason for the title: engineer.

[Question] Recognized in the civilian economy...

[Answer] People who we have educated, in whom we have made an investment, we are reluctant to give up, and we do so only in sporadic instances justified, for example, by health considerations. Hence, I can say that this is not a title given for nothing. It corresponds to all the criteria generally accepted in this regard, but, except in a small number of cases, in specific specialties. In talks with candidates and applicants, we therefore stress that they are being prepared for the needs of the army, and we require a manly decision.

[Question] Detailed information is needed to make such a decision. Where can a young person obtain such information?

[Answer] There is a special information directory about military training. The educational institutions set up "Open Days." All this information is also available from the Voivodship Military Headquarters and the Military Recruiting Boards. Of course, there is also material in the press which can be read.

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CSO: 2600/593

MILITARY PILOT SHORTAGE, TRAINING IN AVIATION CLUBS DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish No 4, Apr 82 pp 23-26

[Article by Cpt Edward Wojcik: "Role of Flying Clubs in the System of Recruiting Aviation Candidates; Discussion Article"]

[Text] The recruitment of candidates for military aviation is too complicated an issue to be able to discuss it in one short article. We know that even the most rigid selection is no guarantee against recruiting to the Higher Air Force Officers School (WOSL) candidates who must be released from the institution in the course of their studies, despite the fact that great costs have been incurred to train them. The idea, however, is to see that there be as few such releases as possible.

Leaving to one side the candidates who are graduates of an aviation secondary school and candidates without training in aviation, I would like to take up the matter of the preparation of young people in flying clubs. This organization, which operates throughout the entire country, has the obligation and great possibility of fostering the pilot vocation among young people. At the same time the regional flying clubs are running into a large number of large and small problems which by the nature of things are having an impact on the system of training and upbringing of young people.

We have 41 regional flying clubs in our country with experienced instructors and upbringing personnel and far more than 1,000 aircraft suitable for the training of young people. We have great aviation traditions and considerable sports achievements in this field. How is it then that we are constantly short of suitable candidates for military aviation? This is a difficult question, and I do not know whether anyone would be able to provide a satisfactory answer. Nonetheless, I should like to point out several issues related to the process of the training and preparation of candidates in the flying clubs. One thing sure is that if glider, parachute-jumping, and similar training becomes more popular and fashionable among young people, there will be no shortage of candidates for military aviation.

### Return to a Proven System

Back in the 1960's all the candidates for Air Force Officers School were trained in gliders within the framework of the Military Aviation Training program, called the LPW-1, and in aircraft at the LPW-2 camp. These were closed courses of 2 months with military instructors and upbringing staff. These camps had between 2,000 and 2,500 young people. This system, called the pyramid, was based on the assumption that as many candidates as possible should be accepted and that the most capable people with the greatest predisposition for flying would be culled by way of natural selection through the various stages of training.

This was an expensive system, but it had many advantages. After certain people left the aviation leadership, on the wave of criticism of their attitudes and actions, their methods of flight training were eliminated, despite the fact that they had sometimes been good and had proved to work. It was at this time that LPW-1 was withdrawn. What is more, there was even talk that WOSL cadets and people below jet pilot were positions to which any young person could aspire, without any previous flight preparation. With this thought in mind, a group of cadets was referred from the WSOZW and other schools for training at WOSL. Not many of them became pilots, but that is another problem.

Practice showed that in order to obtain good pilots and other airman specialists, it was necessary to begin training from the earliest years. After years of failure in obtaining the proper number of candidates with good predispositions, the LPW-1 program was reactivated, but it is necessary to wait several years for the effects of LPW-1 training. Besides, this training must be broader in scope than it has been. Several years passed from the time the LPW-1 program was eliminated to the time it was reactivated, and conditions within the Polish Flying Club changed during this period. Before this organization was subordinate to the Ministry of National Defense. Now it is subordinate to the Ministry of Transportation. It is therefore not surprising that the latter minister is not interested in training young people for the military.

### Just Plums

The matter was resolved amicably. For every candidate trained within the framework of the LPW-1 program who signs an agreement to apply to WOSL upon graduation from secondary school, the flying club receives nearly 40,000 zlotys. This year this amount will undoubtedly be greater, owing to the rise in the cost of living, prices on fuel, and so on.

Thirty thousand zlotys is no small sum. Despite this, the flying clubs are not preparing many candidates in all. What is more, people who do not always intend to become military pilots are trained under the auspices of the LPW-1 program. They take the only places when there are those who would like to fly but cannot get into the flying club. They are sent away empty-handed. On the other hand, one sometimes hears the notion

that the military puts too much into training in flying clubs but that not many people trained under the auspices of the LPW-1 program present themselves for the examinations at the WOSL. I think this concept is wrong. It is like taking the raisins out of the cake without paying for the cake and then only offering the price of white cake.

The meager funds from the state budget barely suffice to maintain the equipment, installations, and pay for the permanent employees, and not even always that much. It is not enough for sports aviation to become generally accessible for a larger number of young people to know how to do parachute jumping, to fly gliders or paragliders, to say nothing of airplanes, which are the most expensive to operate.

In this situation the leadership of nearly every flying club is standing on its head to try to arrange for service flights, demonstration flights, and so on. The money obtained in this way makes it possible to continue, to make ends meet. There is not always enough time for the training and upbringing of young people. It is true that there are two flying clubs in the country which wound up over 2 million zlotys apiece in the black. These flying clubs have richer patrons, but they did not train more young people than the other, poorer ones did.

#### This Is Profitable

As a consequence it is not important who puts in for the training of young people in the flying clubs. If it has already been accepted as a system that the army will pay for LPW-1 training, then at the same time it should be interested in training the largest possible number of candidates. For example, paying for 2,500 candidates trained within the framework of the LPW-1 program it will pay a large amount, but the large number of young people will make it possible to select and screen candidates meeting all the health and psychophysical conditions. This will be a selection which to a great extent will eliminate the release of cadets during the final years of study and also the writing off of pilots right after their arrival in their units. In all, the initial expenditure will prove profitable.

On the other hand, the inclusion of several thousand young people in flight training will make aviation fashionable again. After all, there is no incentive like the example of a member of one's peer group, his stories about flying, flights, and adventure. The regional flying clubs have the base and the personnel. All they need is the funds for training, which are essential to activate a system of universal flight training.

The existing flying club base of equipment and instructors is not free of certain defects and shortcomings.

#### What Sort of Personnel Do We Have?

It used to be that military upbringing personnel and instructors to a great extent participated in the training of young people (within the framework of the LPW-1 program). The current flying club instructors

to a great extent are young people (the older ones have left for other branches of aviation), who have a foggy notion about military service, especially the pilot-officer's vocation. In addition they have almost no propaganda or review material, no printed information, documentary or fictional films, no good literature. It is a case, to put it briefly, where the matter of promotion is dead. There are neither the forces nor the resources for that purpose. There are not even any leaflets. I will leave it an open question as to who should take up propagandizing. It is true that there are officers in the units who watch over the various regional flying clubs. They manage to talk with young candidates for aviation, and they work with the leadership of the flying clubs. One of them, for example, is Major Jozef Szelag, and then there are Col Magister Romuald Tarnawski and Cpt Pilot Krzysztof Szumelda, but a large share of the officer-upbringing people cannot find a place for themselves in this system. And they do not find the flying club leadership inclined in this direction either. It would be difficult to be surprised. Many of them limit their activity merely to organizing discussions for young people. Nothing else! And mere talk does not accomplish much.

Alongside the LPW-1 program, the regional flying clubs conduct basic training. Up until 1981 training was conducted on the basis of an agreement between the Ministry of Education and Upbringing and the Polish Flying Club (Aeroklub PRL). The Ministry of Education and Upbringing allocated about 12 million zlotys per year for this purpose. In a situation in which many schools lacked textbooks, the education ministry gave up further cooperation. Only individual agreements can be entered into between regional school superintendents and flying clubs. But a large number of young people, about 4,000 per year, have been trained in these camps. Would this be one more blow to the future of flight personnel?

#### Model-Building -- Unloved Child

The most common system of training undoubtedly is models, but the flying clubs do not have much to brag about in this area either. Most of the model-building workshops operate under the auspices of the Spolem housing cooperatives, the scouts, or other organizations. Some flying clubs treat their model-building sections in a frivolous way. They consider them not to be important and treat them as an undignified area of aviation, but after all it is just through model-building that we can reach the broad ranks of youth, that we can come closer to young boys with the problematics of aviation, to say nothing about the benefits to be derived from the universal spread of polytechnic skills and interests. Small-scale aviation (models) are of almost no interest at all to the military units, and this is a pity.

Because of the previous marginal treatment of flying models, model-building is running into many difficulties. There are no good grades of balsa wood. For 3 years there have been no foreign exchange funds to import equipment: engines, remote steering apparatus, propellers, and the like. All attempts to undertake domestic production have been destroyed. And there is one other matter which is creating the most adverse opinion. People think that the flying clubs have enough equipment, but other people think that there is too little such equipment and that it does not correspond to the current

needs. It is strange that both sides have arguments to support their positions. The first group thinks that the thousand and some aircraft are sufficient to train many thousands of young people. They are right, because, for example, the Zielona Gora Flying Club trained twenty-one pilots and flew more than 300 hours using a single Puchacz glider. The position of the other group is correct in that the equipment which the flying clubs have is of too high a level and is expensive and difficult to operate and repair. There is a great deal of truth in the statement that a basic-training glider should meet four basic conditions: be light, cheap, safe, and easy to repair.

The Bocian and Mucha [Stork, Fly] gliders still being used in the flying clubs are about "finished." The Czapla [Heron] are listed. The Puchacz [Eagle Owl] offered by industry, although good for check rides, costs about 860,000 zlotys. The old glider equipment will be eliminated for safety reasons. To make this exchange, the Polish Flying Club needs about 45 gliders per year. That industry could supply that many Puchacz is beyond dreaming. Besides, the Polish Flying Club could not afford it.

The situation with gliders for ongoing training and competition is far from hopeless. The existing Pirats [Pirates] and Jantars meet all the needs. The fact that gliders of this type are not always properly taken advantage of is another matter. It happens that members of the national flight team treat gliders as being for them, for their own private use.

The good quality of training and recreational gliders does not yet prove that there are no buts. Industry has produced several dozen Pirats and has declined further production of it, without proposing anything instead of it. It has declined production, although the design was good. In a few years it may turn out that here to there will be a gap (probably, as with the gliders for basic training). One does not hear anything about research or production of high-performance carbon textile gliders. To think that Poland not too long ago was a foremost producer of gliders of top grade.

#### Will There Be New Airplanes?

The situation with airplanes in the flying clubs is not the best. There are great difficulties with spare parts. There is also a shortage of money for repairs. This is the reason we owe great words of recognition to the Production and Repair Plants in Krosno, which repairs domestically-produced airplanes. Certain types of airplanes are already outmoded or are coming to the end of their days. The Polish Flying Club has limited possibilities of buying foreign aircraft, like the Zlin. Industry's proposed PZL-110 Koliber has not found favor, because foreign exchange funds would have to be used for fuel, oil, and even spare parts.

Nonetheless, the agreement recently signed with the aviation industry is encouraging. The flying club will probably receive two models of light aircraft which will generally meet the conditions of pilot training. We cannot yet provide any information about the details of this matter.

## Promise of New Launching Winches

In the Polish Flying Club more and more thought is being given to saving fuel. The concept of using winches is coming back, but owing to the large number of gliders in use, it is not possible to use what we call the gumming machines. The launch winches of 20 years ago still being used in some flying clubs are no longer proving satisfactory. Specialists from the Wroclaw Flying Club have come to the rescue. A group headed by Engineer Andrzej Bachman has made a winch prototype. During a test on a 2-kilometer line a Puchacz was launched 800 meters. Production of winches is currently being set up at Wroclaw Madro. By the end of the year about 20 winches will have been produced. The designers from Wroclaw did not stop there. At the present time a new type of multispool winch and line puller is being developed by them. Because of this the future training of glider pilots will be incomparably cheaper.

Military aviation specialists are not interested in popularizing aviation instruction in the flying clubs at army cost. This is obvious. Despite this, throughout the flying club training system, the pilot preparation systems of training under the auspices of the LPW-1 program and the program for parachute jumpers for the WPD create the least reservations. These systems are based on close cooperation with the army. Some flying club activists with sentiment recall the times when their organization was subordinate to the Ministry of National Defense. At that time they had clearly specified tasks and the funds allocated to them to carry out these tasks. Today they are faced with the difficulties of find the funds and carrying out the tremendous tasks they face.

Will the existing system be changed for the better? It is hard to give a clear answer, but the fact is that the regional flying clubs train far fewer young people than their potential would seem to imply they might. Let it suffice to state that on the average each regional flying club prepares ten applicants, and we are already getting more than 400 candidates for training at Deblin. The army pays for their training, provided they will be willing to enter professional aviation. The complaints about the shortage of candidates for military and civil aviation will not change anything. The best way to propagate professional aviation is popular flight training.

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CSO: 2600/625

INTERVIEW WITH RADIO-TV COMMITTEE'S W. LORANC

AU161405 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Apr 82 p 2

[Interview with Wladyslaw Loranc, chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television, by PAP's Hanna Frenkiel; date and place not specified]

[Text] Below we publish excerpts from an interview given to a PAP journalist by Wladyslaw Loranc, chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television.

--It is a fact that the program situation is stabilizing, W. Loranc said, as attested to outwardly by the reinstatement of Polish Radio Program III, which means that we have again four radio and two TV programs as well as the "Polonia" program beamed abroad in 13 languages. An exception to the return to the former schedule will be shorter broadcasting time of local stations, which will continue, which is dictated by the need for discussions on certain conceptual solutions, but in this half-year yet there will be a full return to broadcasts by the local broadcasting stations.

During the past 3 months we have had serious discussions about the shape and format of radio and TV programs, and I hope that the listeners and viewers have noted the results of these discussions, i.e., the more obvious different kinds of radio programs.

Program I is an official program and deals with most serious issues, especially the presently vital most issues such as the dialogue between the state and the citizen. Program II is for a more limited audience and is based on direct contact with the listeners. Program III is addressed primarily to young people and program IV remains a program of music and literature, but with distinct predominance of music and with reflections on new programmatic solutions.

As for television we have accepted the assumption that both its programs should complement each other as alternatives. However, a certain assumption became shaped in the establishment of program II and we want to maintain that distinctness. The aim here is to base program II primarily in the potential of the local centers.

I would define the tasks of our Polish Radio and TV programs most generally in this way: They should facilitate two types of dialogue--society itself with itself and the society with authority. I would like particularly to stress the former dialogue because I have the impression that in our public

If we devote much attention to society's dialogue with the authority, but society's dialogue with itself is just as necessary since only in this way will it be possible to more profoundly fathom the origins, forms and results of the crisis.

Having adopted such a general viewpoint, in daily practice we want to concentrate on two large areas of issues. One area is to evaluate the experience in the decade of the 1970's, to attempt to explain the causes of the crisis, and to find ways of overcoming it. The other issue, which should be considered, is connected with the situation in the country between August 1980 and December 1981. This is a problem of vital interest to every Pole who is tormented by the question whether, succumbing to the demagogic rhetoric of those who wanted to catch up with Japan, we did not miss the great opportunity for agreement, for reforms, and for socialist renewal.

Speaking of the role of the Programs Council, Wladyslaw Loranc said: Running radio and television can only be done with the help of the statutory bodies, that is, the methodically functioning committee, the Programs Council, and the Scientific-Technical Council. Following a break of 8 years, the committee has taken up its work again. The reorganization of the Programs Council began in September 1981, when all the decisive political, creative, trade union, social organizations and also religious institutions were invited to participate in it. A positive result appeared to be imminent but because the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity and certain creative unions refused [that invitation], the reinstatement of the law did not succeed. I regard the establishment of the Programs Council as one of the most urgent tasks.

In view of the specific nature of radio and television activities, the importance of the Scientific-Technical Council should be appropriately assessed, for it also has advisory and consultative functions. This council has already been set up and is headed by Prof Ignacy Malecki.

Under the conditions of martial law, especially in its beginning period, it was obvious that society's attention was directed mainly toward printed matter and news. We are aware of the fact that listeners and viewers are somewhat hungry for artistic programs. This situation will improve very soon, for we are accepting the assumption as a rule that the cultural achievements and activity of the entire country must be presented on radio and television. Our artistic program items will be supplemented to a greater extent than heretofore by foreign programs, obtained through exchange with foreign countries, primarily from the socialist countries.

As of April, we should expect a distinct stabilization of the proportion between the old and new TV shows; however, there will be indispensable certain repeats, if only out of consideration for the new viewers.

The chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs then discussed the role of radio and TV in fostering the high standards of the Polish language. He stated, among other things, that radio, which is satisfied with the present experience in that field, is aware at the same time of its new duties. It seems indispensable to restore this year the Broadcasting Charter

[Karta Miernotowa] which has been in effect for years, but was neglected later. I would like to caution that we regard the struggle for the high standards of the language somewhat more broadly than in categories of its formal correctness. It is an attempt to adapt it to the new realities, to tone down its aggressiveness, and even to rid it of slang expressions like those used by young people, for example.

--The state of radio and television technology--W. Loranc continued--is not uniform. We have centers that are well equipped and those whose technical and building facilities are bad. The center in Warsaw at Woronicza Street is being expanded, and radio studios will be handed over for use this year. The financial assistance promised by the government leadership will cover only the most indispensable portion of the requirements associated with maintaining the traffic.

CSO: 2600/721

## MARXIST-LENINIST TEACHINGS ON RELIGION REVIEWED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 6, 20 Mar 82 pp 24-26

[Article by Reader Dr Georgeta Florea: "Dialectical-Materialist Conception of Religion"]

[Text] Nature and Social Function of Religion

Throughout the history of knowledge philosophers and scientists of the most varied persuasions have looked in man and his human universe for the causes of the appearance of religion. A great many of them believed that religion originated in the psycho-intellectual characteristics of the individual, some blaming his helpless fear of natural phenomena and lack of confidence in his own powers and his tendency to anthropomorphize and to think of the world in analogies with himself, or to personify the sun, the moon and other celestial phenomena (here we are thinking particularly of the astral and mythological theories). Quite a few explained the appearance of religion by man's concern about the unknown future, which increased as soon as he began to believe in the independent existence of the soul and its immortality.

The inadequacy of the explanations based on the individual's psycho-intellectual characteristics led other researchers to study society in order to find in its structure the causes of religion. But the resulting theories were often limited to the subjectivist point of view.

Dialectical and historical materialism introduced a new perspective wherein religion is a social phenomenon and a specific-historical product, but not to the exclusion of the important role of some subjective conditions that favored the action of the latter. The Marxist conception demonstrated that religion is no inherent fact innate in the human being and that to be a man does not necessarily mean to be religious. The objective causes of its appearance survived in the nature of social existence as expressions of the degree of development of the productive forces and the type of productive and extraproductive social relations that characterized the primitive order. The world that man could not dominate practically because of underdevelopment of the productive forces and consequently could not understand theoretically was regarded as a sacred world, infinitely superior, fraught with inaccessible mysteries, and not to be investigated.

But sacralization of the world is only the prerequisite of religion, because the feeling for the sacred never generates religious belief by itself. The incipient forms of religious belief are worthy of attention because, as Marx said, they can make it easier to understand the fact that "Man creates religion and religion does not create man." But the essential act that makes a religion of the respective magical beliefs and practices is the duplication and stratification of the world by the primitive mind. It is the point at which the immediate, visible world partly under its control is considered temporary, impure, nonexistent in itself and qualitatively inferior to the invisible world supposed to be above and beyond the perceptible one and ruled by the will and intelligence of supernatural beings.

As Engels said, the psychological mechanism that led the human mind to "a fantastic reflection... wherein the earthly forces took the form of supernatural forces" is the alienation of human nature. The superiority of the explanation provided by the Marxist conception does not lie merely in identifying human alienation as a source of mystification of man's relations with the real world, which had also been perceived by Hegel and was analyzed at least in part by Feuerbach, but in realizing that religion is the product of the social man living in a specific-historical society where he is not permitted to fulfill himself completely and effectively in everyday life and he is channeled toward a fulfillment in fantasy and illusion. By the process of self-alienation the human being, imagined in all its better qualities, detached from its specific-individual existence and transformed to ideas, comes to be regarded as another being, divorced from man, clearly superior, primary, omnipotent, omniscient etc. Engels said in this connection that religion "by its very nature empties man and nature of any content and transfers that content to the phantom of a transcendent God, who then in His turn and by His grace grants man and nature some of His abundance."\*

In the Marxist conception belief in the supernatural and the divine is not the product of transfiguration of natural phenomena alone but also of social phenomena, which in certain stages of history are equally strange and inexplicable to man and dominate him to the same extent. In the course of history religion became more and more the product of transfiguration and fetishizing of social relations because exploitation of man by man, inequalities of every kind, the unpredictable action of the social laws, wars, crises etc. multiply the forms of the human being's alienation, which extend to both the exploited and the exploiter.

In the presence of such objective social-historical factors, some of man's psycho-intellectual characteristics can still favor religious mystification of the natural or social world. In addition to those mentioned at the start we note the inherent ability of the human mind to create abstractions and to imagine a fantastic world of unreal ideas that can be regarded as independent entities, man's characteristic tendency to judge the world on the analogy of his acts, which can lead to the belief that the organization of the cosmos, like any human action, presupposes the existence of an intelligence with a demiurgic role, etc.

\*F. Engels, "State of England. Thomas Carlyle, 'Past and Present'" in K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," Vol 1, Political Publishing House, 1960, p 591.

Religion gradually became a highly complex social phenomenon, expanding its functions beyond the believers' consciousness and actively involving itself in their economic, political, legal, moral and artistic affairs. As a social or individual consciousness, religion functions as a pseudocognitive means of understanding the existing world and of predicting the future life. It also performs a function of illusory compensation for the alienated human condition. By virtue of its ethical and sometimes legal components it takes on functions of regulating behavior and converts the desire to improve life to expectation of divine salvation. The religious life is presented as the only possibility for the individual's integration in the community and the only authentic form of protest in eras or periods of cruel social and national oppression etc.

By exercising those functions religion confines people in the illusion of the supremacy of the supernatural forces instead of channeling human efforts toward progressive mastery of the natural world and improvement of the social world. On the basis of the idea that revelation is the only way to truth, it establishes itself as an obstacle to human knowledge. Throughout history protests on religious grounds have never resulted in truly revolutionary plans, because they were not based on the real causes of man's domination by the natural and social forces. Religion cannot paralyze the masses' spirit of revolt and it even stimulates it at times, but it always gives it a content and an objective that make it ineffectual and direct it in ways that even further aggravate the lack of freedom.

#### Religion Under Socialism. Legal Regulation of Freedom of Conscience in Romania

Abolition of private ownership and exploitation of man by man, establishment and development of productive socialist relations, continued democratization of economic, political and social activity, expansion of the secularizing technical environment due to agricultural industrialization and modernization and to urbanization with its effects upon life styles, and the mass cultural movement that has structured a new scientific-atheist attitude and raised the general cultural level have purposefully reversed the state of religious belief in the new society.

Although the social basis of religion is being gradually eliminated, the religious phenomenon continues to exist under socialism because there are still partial discrepancies among the various sectors of social activity. At some times, as in the worldwide economic crisis, temporary developmental difficulties arise. Contradictions persist and are even aggravated which, by their very existence, disguise the main agreement of the various groups' interests and create false discords. Because economic, legal, moral and other principles are violated, individuals sometimes meet with with injustice and inequity in the microcollectives to which they belong. Such real dysfunctions, with their bad effects on the circumstances of people's daily lives, cannot always be understood by all and cannot invariably be effectively and promptly controlled. They often foster distorted and mystical views of man's relations with society and his historic destiny.

An individual's religious belief is formed by the interaction of objective and subjective causes, some of which occur in common contexts of groups, social categories etc. (like those mentioned above) while others are limited to strictly

personal contexts. This explains why personal tragedies, repeated failures, critical family situations, or requests for material or moral help unanswered in the nearest community can result in a strong feeling of insecurity, loss of confidence in one's own powers, and the belief that such situations can be overcome solely by recourse to religion.

Belief in religion can also be maintained artificially. In some cases the religious belief characteristic of some individuals is not primarily the result of any deliberate adherence but imitation of neighbors' behavior or a reaction to pressure from parents, relatives or friends. In other cases the religious belief of social categories is maintained because most religions stress the idea that only respect for religion ensures any positive morality and irreligion inevitably leads to dehumanization and moral decadence. Under some circumstances religious conversion is the result of aggressive or insidious proselytizing, especially but not entirely on the part of members of neo-Protestant denominations.

Religious practices are clearly also encouraged by the power of attraction of the religious rituals to celebrate some important events in people's lives like births, marriages etc., which meet the general need for spectacles and sociability better than the present secular institutions.

For those under its influence religion still has an instrumental character, providing very easy and plausible explanations for the man of little instruction and culture which are also charged with symbols that can satisfy the taste for speculation of other categories of people. It has moral and sometimes also legal standards recommended as the only effective ones for regulating human behavior, and it provides stereotyped, ready-made scenarios, handed down from generation to generation, specifying point by point all that should be done in any given situation. Departure from that pattern is presented as a violation of traditional customs and disrespect. Using such arguments, religions maintain by their propaganda belief in the eternal and general usefulness of religion, and this in great part explains why religion continues at least partially to be an active system with functions of its own although the essential causes that gave rise to it have disappeared.

The humanist-revolutionary ideals characteristic of the socialist order, which attach supreme value to the man as subject of his social and individual destiny, call for priority elimination of the social-human causes that perpetuate religious alienation as well as opposition to the instrumental value that religion claims.

On the principle, confirmed by experience, that the religious phenomenon cannot be eliminated by administrative actions or by acculturation programs of the illudist kind, the RCP feels that only complete implementation of the new human condition and full development of the personality of the new man will do away with mystical-religious beliefs and the need to resort to religious practices. In the present stage of Romanian society's development, modernization of the productive forces, continuing enhancement of their economic effectiveness, restructuring of industry, accomplishment of a far-reaching agrarian revolution, improvement of all social relations, promotion of the technical-scientific revolution in all activities, consolidation of the scientific and democratic

character of social management and organization, and full sway of ethics and justice based on constantly improved material and social conditions are all alike implicit practical means of liberating people from the influence of religion. In this far-reaching and lengthy process, making a fetish of the tendency of the social consciousness to lag behind social existence and the contrary assumption that establishing new social relations automatically makes religion disappear are both one-sided and result in passive indifference in educational work.

Since the ideological struggle against religion is the entire party's task, qualification as a communist is essentially incompatible with the attitude of concession or adherence to religion. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We base the revolutionary, scientific conception of the world upon social development. To be sure we respect people's beliefs until they come to a scientific understanding of the realities, but we do not wish in any way to maintain the state of backwardness in thought or consciousness..." Scientific-materialist education of the masses is accordingly an aim of the ideological effort to form and develop socialist awareness and to promote revolutionary humanism throughout society.

Of course accomplishment of this aim has nothing in common with restriction of freedom of conscience, and religious belief is not subject to administrative sanction. On the contrary, in accordance with the profoundly democratic nature of Romanian society, the Romanian Constitution provides equal rights for all citizens regardless of nationality, age, sex or religion in all walks of economic, political, legal, social and cultural life. In this way the Romanian government provides through its legislation for fundamental freedom of conscience, but in both its meanings: "Anyone is free to believe or not to believe in a religion" (Article 30).

But the guarantee of freedom of conscience gives no one license to exploit any citizens' religious feelings or to use those problems as a means of social-political diversion or interference in another country's internal affairs. Religions are free to organize and operate provided they observe the principle of the state's supreme authority over all institutions on Romanian territory, including religious ones. In accordance with the principle of its supremacy, the state has the legitimate right to oversee strict observance of socialist legality, to prohibit any antisocial activity or interference of religions in affairs of state, to protect all its citizens' physical and intellectual health, and to provide equal education and instruction for all its members.

Since the Romanian state separates schools from the church, religions cannot open or maintain educational institutions other than those specially intended to train their own personnel. It is also prohibited by law to disseminate religious propaganda outside the religious institutions and the authorized media. Every citizen and every servitor of a religion must obey the laws and help to develop and strengthen the social order.

To regulate relations between religions and the socialist state, the law on their operating conditions was drafted in 1948. Fourteen religions are operating in Romania, namely Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Reformed or Calvinist, Evangelical of the Augustinian Confession, Synodal Presbyterian Evangelical, Unitarian,

Christian of the Old or Lippovan Rite, Gregorian Armenian, Judaic, Mohammedan, Baptist, Seventh Day Adventist, Pentecostal and Christian According to the Gospel. They enjoy full equality regardless of the number of believers, since there is no dominant church or subordinate churches in Romania.

The revolutionary and democratic solution of the minorities problem in Romania is reflected in the fact that according to the Constitution and the Law on Religions the national minorities are entitled to express their particular spiritual traditions and every faith can be organized in conformity with its own national characteristics and with the dogmas on which it is founded, and it can use the believers' mother tongue in all religious activities (in rituals, publications, religious schools, administrative actions etc.).

The state severely sanctions religious hatred, has put a stop to manifestations of discord, and favors a climate of mutual respect.

Religions can organize their theological institutes of higher education as well as their theological seminaries to train their personnel. They can also publish their essential religious books as well as periodicals, theoretical journals and bulletins.

In Romania religions have the necessary resources for their activities, religious homes, rest homes, retirement homes, workshops, stores, ritual slaughter-houses and canteens, etc. They have their own budgets and are subsidized by the state to maintain their historical monuments. Those in Romania maintain relations with international religious organizations and with other churches abroad provided they respect every church's independence and its right to take its own stand on the various internal religious questions. Moreover the Law on Religions prohibits relations of legal or administrative subordination to foreign religious centers.

By virtue of the mutual respect established in relations between religions and the state, a favorable climate has been created in Romania such that every citizen regardless of his religious convictions can contribute to a higher standard of material and cultural civilization. The representatives of the religions belong to the Socialist Unity and Democracy Front, and some of them have been elected deputies to the Grand National Assembly.

The foregoing facts contradict the hostile propaganda of some circles in the West that sometimes unknowingly but most often deliberately make judgments that distort the facts.

The principle of freedom of conscience entails the socialist state's right and duty to take steps both for the nation's continued progressive development and, through its scientific, cultural and educational institutions, for the education and development of a truly free man liberated from the wardship of any mystical-religious faith.

# NEW SLOVENIAN CULTURAL REVIEW PUBLISHES DJOGO POEMS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 82 p 48

[Excerpt] In a few days a full 2 years will have passed since 60 well-known Slovenian cultural workers signed a petition to establish the publication NOVA REVIJA and sent this with a letter to Mitja Ribicic, president of the SAWP Conference of Slovenia. After consideration by a special working group and a public discussion in DEIO, the Cankar publishing house has brought out the first issue of NOVA REVIJA, about which it was rumored up to the last minute that it would not get off the ground.

Thus, the review has come out and the editor-in-chief is Tine Hribar, well-known Slovenian philosopher.

The crucial elements...in the initiative of the 60 [petition] signers were the apathy that had existed for several years in publications, the lack of dialogue and polemic, and the danger of Slovenian cultural provincialism. The signers advocate in their programmatic text a pluralism of self-management interests and communication with other cultural areas in Yugoslavia (cooperation with REPUBLIKA [Zagreb], KNJIZEVNOST, and KNJIZEVNA REC has already been agreed upon), as well as keeping up in a dynamic way with the cultural happenings in the world.

In the last part of the text (which opponents of NOVA REVIJA usually overlook) the petitioners say they do not want to form a new group which would compete with the cultural-political institutions in Slovenia. They proclaim the search for work which will be as expressive and independent as possible and which will correspond to the interests of the authors and the present level of artistic and intellectual differentiation. Only in this way, they say, will pluralism of views and dialogue be assured, but not between publications but rather within NOVA REVIJA.

Thus it wants to be new.... Tine Hribar says, "We find ourselves confronted with the creation of a new economic policy, thus, we must also form a new science [znanost] and a new cultural policy."

In leafing through the issue, it is obvious that the main tendencies [aims] have been followed. It contains heretofore unknown poems by Edvard Kocbek whom a large number of Slovenian intellectuals consider an exemplary independent talent, poems by members of the second generation, Joze Udovic, Joze

Snoj, Niko Grafenauer, as well as poems by the Serbian poet Gojko Djogo,... and an interview with Vlado Vodopivec of the pre-war Slovenian literary left which could not be published 2 years ago and which attests to the enclosed nature of the cultural field. In the "Polemic" column Taras Kermauner responds to the attack by Branko Zihel on Ivan Kreft's book "Sporovi i sukobi" [Controversies and Conflicts]. Ivan Urbancic's book, "Lenjinova 'filozofija' ili o imperijalizmu," translated by Dusan Velickovic and Tine Hribar, is reviewed; Hribar's text was earlier rejected by TELEKS. Another previously rejected text is also included: Rupel's criticism of Lasic's book.... A comparison is also made between the theoretically poor third program on Radio Ljubljana and the [culturally] rich program on Radio Belgrade.

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## BRIEFS

REDUCED SENTENCES FOR FRANCISCANS--The Franciscan brothers from Mostar, Ferdo Vlastic and Jozo Krizic, who were sentenced by the Sarajevo supreme court on 18 March 1982 have had their sentences reduced from 8 to 5 1/2 years in the first case and from 5 1/2 to 2 1/2 years in the second case. The brothers are now in the prison in Foca where Brother Jozo Zovko has also been serving a sentence, now reduced from 3 1/2 to 2 years. On 1 June 1982 their lawyers requested the district court in Mostar to re-examine the validity of the verdicts and this court is required by law to forward the request to the Federal Court in Belgrade for settlement. At the same time we have learned that those imprisoned are not permitted to receive or read any religious papers or periodicals and even the Scriptures and their breviaries have been taken from them. [Excerpt] [Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jun 82 p 10]

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July 16, 1982